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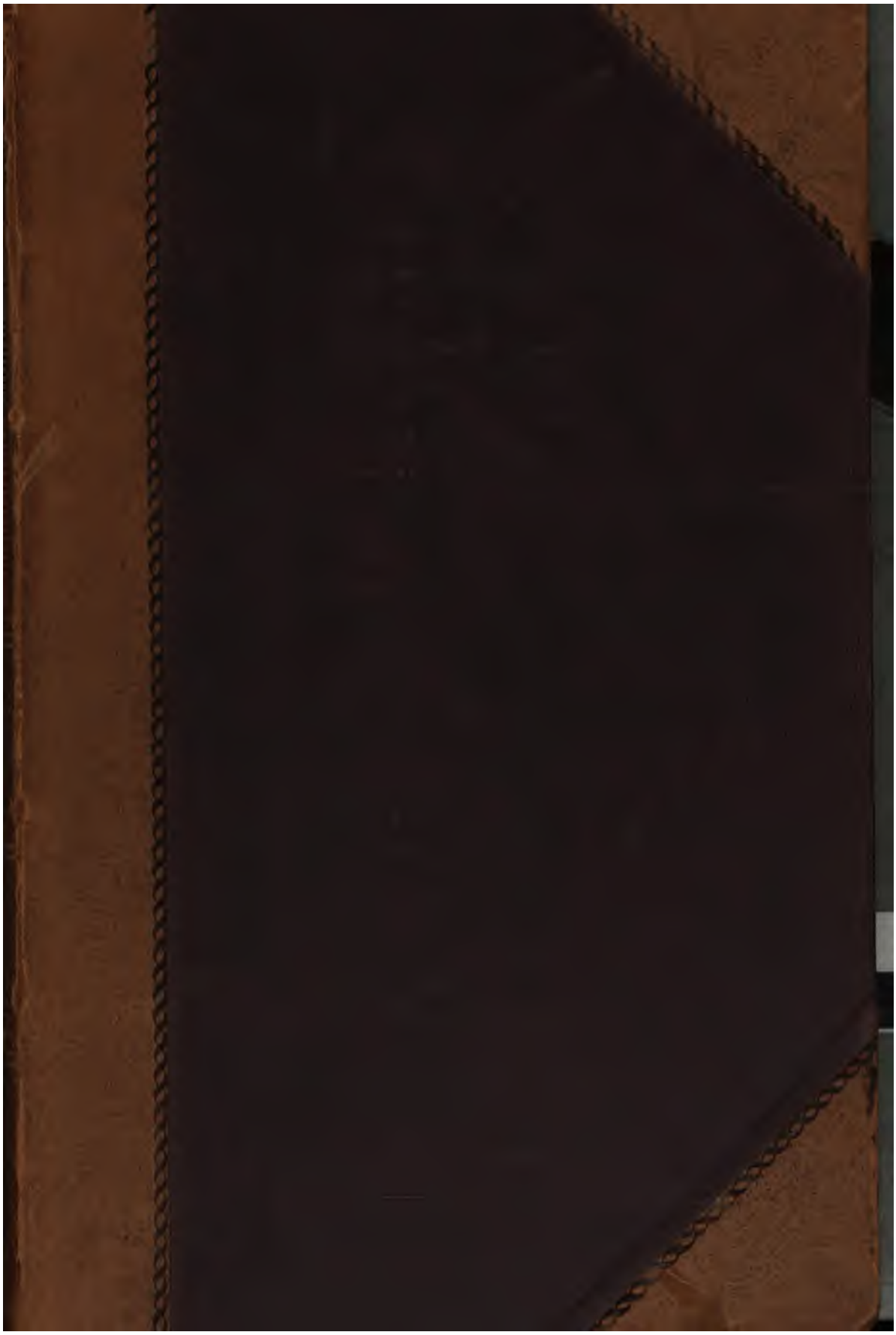

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EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

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THERE is no idea more ancient than that of an evil spirit against whose machinations man should be constantly on his guard. Under one name or other all nations, from the most barbarous to the most civilized, have acknowledged the existence of such a being. Even those who could not understand, or believe that the universe is the work of an all-wise and beneficent Creator, have readily accepted the dogma of

a malignant genius who delights only in mischief. Pagans, Jews, Christians, Mahomedans, Brahmins, and Buddhists, have all agreed in this faith, if in nothing else. Many nations, ancient and modern, have changed their religion; none have surrendered the evil one. All have clung to him with a tenacity which, if it is not laudable, is at least remarkable.

It is true that there have been individuals in every age who have denied the existence of any such being; nor does the present age form an exception; but we do not hesitate to say that let the investigator travel whither he may he will find three-fourths of all he meets implicit believers in devil or dæmon, no matter what other dogma they may receive or reject. As we are not theologians we will not take it upon us to determine which are right or wrong, although we may remark in passing, that if the voice of the majority must be received as the correct one, nothing could be more impious or treasonable than to deny the existence of the being who commenced his depredations on mankind in the garden of Eden. For our part we have no ambition either to condemn, or refute a dogma which has been taught by the most pious and learned Christians for nearly two thousand years.

It is well to remember that if human malefactors had once a good character, infernal malefactors had the same; and this is one of the most remarkable features in the history of the evil one, who has been known in all parts of the world by so many different names. Sometimes the being who was worshiped as a God in one country was feared and detested as a devil in another*; some nations regarded dæmons as beneficent beings while others regarded them as malignant beings.

It would seem that their conduct must have deteriorated gradually, for we find that for many ages the proportion of mankind which regarded them as evil spirits continued steadily to increase, whereas that which regarded them as beneficent spirits continued to diminish in a still larger ratio,

* Fulgence, Mythologia, p. 712.

until finally the term dæmon became synonymous throughout the world with devil, or evil spirit.

From this degeneracy many learned investigators have inferred that the dæmons as well as the gods of the Heathen were human beings deified after their death; and it cannot be denied that they can adduce cogent arguments in support of that view. Hesiod may be regarded as the most ancient profane authority on the religious faith of Pagan antiquity, and there is no subject on which he writes more plainly or more authoritatively than on this. In his famous description of the Ages of the world, he speaks of the Golden Age as follows: "After their death the men of that epoch became beneficent dæmons, living on earth as the guardians of mortals, observing the works of justice and the works of injustice. Veiled in a thick cloud, they passed through the earth dispensing benefits; such is the royal privilege conferred on them."

At this time dæmon and god were synonymous terms, and they continued such for centuries after.* In the time of Plato a considerable change had taken place; the philosopher frequently mentions the dæmon as an inferior deity.† He says in the Banquet that "Dæmons are intermediate between God and mortals; their function is to interpret and convey to the gods what comes from men, and to men what comes from the gods; the prayers and offerings of the one, and the commands of the others. These dæmons are the source of all prophecy, and of the art of the priests, in relation to sacrifices, consecrations, conjurations, &c.; for God has no immediate intercourse with men but all the intercourse and conversation between the gods and mortals are carried on by means of the dæmons, both in waking and sleeping. There are many kinds of such dæmons, or spirits."

Throughout the Homeric poems the dæmon is regarded in the same light; and the poet assigns him duties in accordance with his inferiority. Nor is it alone the inferior gods Homer treats in this manner; he frequently assigns corre-

* "We must not," says Menander, "think any *dæmon* to be evil or hurtful to life, but every *god* to be good."

† Cratylus. See also Apuleius, de Deo Socrato.

sponding duties to the goddesses, as, for example, when he makes Minerva wash the face of Penelope.* But however inferior the dæmons may be, he everywhere describes them as the protectors of the good and just.†

Thales the Milesian divided all spiritual beings into three classes; the gods who govern the universe, the dæmons who are partly celestial and partly terrestial, and the heroes whom he describes as human souls separated from the body. ‡ And nearly the same faith was professed by Pythagoras.

In the time of Æschylus and Euripides; the dæmons had greatly degenerated; thus Atossa is made to say in the *Persians*, "Prince, an envious dæmon has caused all the mischief."§ And the same poet speaks in his *Seven Chiefs before Thebes*, of the dæmon of hatred (v. 711.) Yet it is evident from the testimony of various authors that many still adhered to the old doctrine; we have proof of it in the curious fact that while in one tragedy Æschylus designates the Furies as black and repulsive dæmons, in another he describes them as chaste goddesses, the powerful and respectable daughters of the Night. ‖

Before the time of Æschylus, both painters and poets represented the infernal as well as the celestial divinities as beautiful in form; few made any distinction in this respect, the reason being that both kinds of divinities were regarded as belonging to the same family. In short there is abundant evidence that the hideous forms in which the dæmons are painted at the present day, is a modern idea. Pausanias informs us (Ch. 1, p. 29,) that it was not until after the time of Æschylus that even Furies, or Pluto were represented as in any manner repulsive in their features or appearance, and his testimony is confirmed in many ancient sculptures and paintings. Thus, for example, there are seven vases in the gallery of the Louvre in Paris, each of which represents one of the infernal deities; and all would be much more likely to be taken for guardian angels, accord-

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* Od. xviii. v. 190 *et seq.*

† Od. xvii., v. 473.

‡ *Legatio qro Christianis, Athenagor.*

§ V. 333—5.

‖ *Eumenid*, v. 1038 *et seq.*

ing to the modern idea, than for any mischievous or malignant beings. A still more striking example may be seen at the Museum of Florence, where a Fury appears on a bass-relief, representing the abduction of Helen. The features of the infernal divinity far from being hideous or repulsive, have an expression of nobleness, beauty and calm dignity, which the modern painters of saints and madonnas might well emulate.

In Euripides the dæmons had degenerated still more. All cruel spirits were now ranked as dæmons, such as the Furies, the Pœnæ, the Alastors, Nimesis, &c., who were represented as the implacable enemies of mankind, and at the same time the unswerving instruments of divine vengeance against crime of all kinds. They are represented as inflicting great miseries on mortals, though not without their being deserved. An interesting example of this will be found in the tragedy of the *Phœnicians* in which Antigone speaks of the Alastor (dæmon) who causes incendiaries, murders and strifes.*

It is clear that the changes which had thus taken place excited considerable comment in the time of Plutarch, for the philosopher refers to them in several of his works. "Certain philosophers, he says, admitting the same changes in the soul which take place in the body, believe that earth changes into water, water into air, and air into fire, nature always tending to subtilize herself; on the same principle those among human souls who are most virtuous become heroes; the heroes are changed into dæmons, and some—a small number—entirely purified by a long exercise of the virtues, are elevated to the divine nature. Upon the other hand there are those who, incapable of restraining their desires, degenerate to such an extent as to plunge themselves again into mortal bodies to eke out in a gloomy atmosphere an obscure and miserable existence."†

But Plutarch does not condemn the dæmons, or regard them as malignant beings; he tells us that there are dæmons of whom the gods make use as *ministers and servants*, and to whom the care of fêtes and mysteries is consecrated. There

* V. 1550—1551.

† Opinion. philosoph. lib. 1. c. 8.

are others, he adds, who are charged with travelling through the earth for the purpose of punishing evil-doers for their crimes; while a third class are the dispensers of rewards to the virtuous and good.* In Plutarch's time, as well as at the present day, there were those who regarded the belief in dæmons as mere superstition; but it is equally true that good men regarded it as favorable to virtue, and therefore forbore to sneer at it even when their private opinions were opposed to it. Few would venture to assert that so learned and wise a man as Plutarch was superstitious, yet the philosopher does not hesitate to warn his readers that those who deny the existence of dæmons destroy all intercourse between the gods and men.†

The Romans borrowed their dæmons as well as their gods from the Greeks; they merely changed the names of the former as they did those of the latter. In proof of this we have the testimony of the most reliable of the Roman writers. "Those whom the Greeks call *dæmons*, says Cicero, are in my opinion the same whom we call *lares*."‡ The Romans made a distinction between the good and the bad; the latter they called *larves;* but both were regarded as the souls of the dead and were known by the general appellation of *lemures*.§

It was not until the time of Numa that the Greek or oriental deities were formally introduced among the Romans, for this prince was the great religious reformer of his time. One of the first decrees which he issued was the following: "Let all honor the ancient gods of heaven and those whose merits have carried them thither; such as Hercules, Bachus, Æsculapius, Castor, Pollux and Jurinus." ‖ The deities "carried thither" are supposed, with good reason, to be those brought by Æneis into Italy. Be this as it may it is certain that those whose worship was thus established by law included the good, and the bad, and that those who

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* Plutarch De Is. et Osiris.

† Plutarch, Treatise on the Cessation of Oracles.

‡ Graeci δαίμονας appellant, nostri, opinor, lares, *De Univers.*

§ Ovid *Fast.*

‖ Cicero *de Legibus* 1, ii. c. 8.

were worshiped as good and beneficent at one time, were sought to be propitiated at another as malignant and revengeful. Among all the ancient nations we find evidence of these transitions. Is it strange then that there is scarcely one of the ancient philosophers who did not regard all the heathen deities as beings that had once been mortals. According to Cicero "even the gods of the superior order were originally natives of the lower world, &c."*

But it is not merely the Pagan authors who give this testimony; the most learned and pious of the Fathers of the church fully confirm it. "You can hardly find," says St. Augustine, "in all the writings of the heathen any gods but such as had been men; nevertheless to all of them they pay divine honors as if they never belonged to the human race."† Indeed no one, competent to judge, so well acquainted with Greek mythology as St. Augustine, could have arrived at any different conclusion.

All that we read in ancient authors of the greatest of the Greek deities proves them to be human. This is eminently true even of Zeus "the father of gods and men;" nor is it less true of Juno his "wife and sister." No mortal husband and wife, who had no pretensions to divinity, quarrelled more, or were guilty of more scandalous conduct; and there was scarcely one of the numerous progeny of the Olympian deity, whose conduct was not nearly as bad as his own. Although Homer represents Jupiter as the source of all earthly authority,‡ as the supreme king, from whom all other monarchs receive their power, he represents him at the same time as living in his palace on Olympus like a Grecian prince. From what we learn of him in the Iliad we must believe that if any other prince had more indecent altercations in his family, or was guilty of more shameful intrigues with the wives and daughters of his princely, or unprincely neighbours, his morals must have been very defective indeed.

All the beautiful celestial goddesses of his time were not sufficient to gratify the amorous propensities of Jupiter; he

* Tusc. Disp. L, 1, c. 12.
† St. Aug. Civ. Dei. L. 1, c. 42.
‡ Il. 2, 197.

had also a numerous progeny by the fairest of mortal women, the majority of whom were the wives of mortal men. Had the latter only known his character they could hardly have expected much happiness from his love, since, according to the most orthodox authorities he literally devoured his first wife. Thus we are told that he first espoused Metis who "exceeded gods and men in knowledge." But wise and learned as Metis was she had enemies; doubtless rival princesses who were jealous of her glory. What we are informed, however, is that Heaven and Earth told Jupiter that his first child, though a female, would equal him in strength and wisdom, and that her second, a son, would be king of gods and men. Jupiter, determined to prevent the birth of such ominous children, took the precaution of swallowing his wife. It seems that even a goddess could not have children after being devoured by her divine husband, for we hear no more of poor Metis, but in due time Minerva springs from the head of Jupiter.

It does not seem that the father of gods and men remained long a widower even after so unusual an occurrence. Perhaps one month had elapsed before he married his second wife, the beautiful Themis who in due time bore him the Seasons and the Fates—the former beneficent deities, the latter rather cruel, if not malignant. Thus we learn that good and bad sprung from the same divine parents; and we may remark in passing that the fact serves to explain how it is that in nearly all the ancient authors the celestial and infernal deities are indifferently called dæmons.*

The next wife of Jupiter is the Ocean nymph Eurynome, who produced him the Graces. This lady also he soon discarded for Ceres the mother of Proserpine. Jupiter's next fancy was Latona who bore him Apollo and Diana. If he had any celestial spouse after Juno the fact is not recorded in any orthodox work. The general opinion among the learned seems to be that either Juno excited his prejudices against the celestial beauties by her constant jealousies and bickerings, or otherwise she gained so complete a mastery over him

* Pausanias 1, 29.

that however much he might transgress by intrigues she would not allow him to have another wife.

Some think that it was her son Mars, the god of war, who prevented him from espousing another; while others maintain that he married Dione the mother of Venus more recently than Juno.* The more general opinion is, however, that the goddess of love was illegitimate; although no better reason can be assigned for the fact than that Venus was quite as favorable to illicit love as to connubial or lawful love; in general perhaps more so.

In all this there is not much that is divine according to modern notions. Certainly, as many mischievous deities as good or harmless ones were borne to Jupiter by his celestial wives. If we compare the goddesses whom he loved with the mortal women whom he honored in a similar manner, we shall find that in general the latter were more divine in their conduct and disposition than the former. Thus, for example, it seems it was in vain the father of gods and men paid his addresses to Leda the wife of Tyndarus, king of Sparta; the lady persistently spurned his proposals until he had assumed the form of a swan, a bird of which she was very fond; and hence it was that her two children Pollux and Helen were produced from an egg and that even her mortal husband, royal as he was, could not allege that her virtue, or fidelity as a wife, had been injured by so strange an amour.

Of all the other mortal women whom Jupiter seduced it is sufficient for our present purpose to mention Europa. We are told that this lady was the daughter of Agenor king of Phœnicia. The father of gods and men finding that he had not sufficient influence on Europa in his divine character to induce her to reciprocate his passion, changed himself into a beautiful white bull, and approached her "breathing saffron from his mouth" as she was gathering flowers with her companions near the sea-shore. The young lady being very fond of cattle was delighted with the tameness and beauty of the white animal; after caressing him for some time she ventured to mount him, oxen being used at this time in parts of

* Homer Il. 5, 370.

the East, as horses and donkeys were in other parts of the world. No sooner did the amorous god find Europa on his back than he plunged into the sea and swam with his precious burden to the island of Crete. Here he resumed his divine form, and caressed the trembling maid in spite of her cries and entreaties. We are told that soon after Europa had three children, Minos, Rhadamanthus, and Sarpedon, and that Asterius, king of Crete, knowing that her virtue was still intact, notwithstanding her having three little ones at a birth, readily espoused her and educated her sons in a manner, as nearly as possible, compatible with their half-divine, half-mortal parentage.

It is not strange that St Justin, one of the most learned of the Fathers regared all the Greek and Roman divinites as evil dæmons. "Because, formerly," he says "the wicked dæmons manifested themselves by apparitions, committed fornication with the women, caused frightful pictures to appear to men for the purpose of striking terror into the souls of those who were incapable of judging the dæmons by their actions, and were therefore ignorant of their being wicked dæmons; for these reasons men called them gods, and designated them by the various names which those mysterious being had imposed on them."*

So much for the deities of the most enlightened nation of all antiquity, and which were adopted, as we have already seen by the Romans, who ranked next to the Greeks in intelligence. That not one of them, whether good or bad, had any real pretensions to divinity is sufficiently clear; and yet it is not likely that they were less respectable in general, or less worthy of worship as deities than the gods or dæmons of the Pagan Egyptians, Chaldeans, Syrians, Phœnicians, Hindoos, or Chinese, for the reason that all were human. In proof of this we have Phœnician authority. Philo of Byblus who translated the history of Sanchoniathon from the Phœnician language into Greek, presents us the following extract from the original, in his pre-

* St Justin *Apologet* c. 1. *Vide* also Eusebius, *Pracp. evangel.* vii. c. 9, p. 313, and Alfred Maury's *Revue archéologique*, première et second ann.

face: "The most ancient of the barbarians, especially the Egyptians and the Phoenicians, from whom other people derived this custom, accounted those the *greatest gods* who had found out things most necessary and useful in life, and had been benefactors to mankind. These they worshipped *as gods*, and applying their temples to this use they consecrated to their names pillars and statues of wood, which the Phoenicians held in high veneration, and instituted the most solemn festivals in their honor. More especially did they give the names of their kings to the mundane elements, and to other things to which they attributed divinity. For physical beings alone, such as the sun, moon, planets and elements and things of the same kind, did they acknowledge to be strictly and properly gods. So that some of their gods were *mortal* and others *immortal*." It does not appear that they had any idea of a Creator or Supreme Ruler of the universe, or of any genius of evil, whose power was universal. They had their good and bad dæmons; but all were human.

When Pythagoras travelled among the Egyptians he was surprised to find that their gods and dæmons were for the most part identical with those of the Greeks. The same identity was observed by Herodotus, and he also remarked that the Egyptians worshipped human spirits—men and women deified after their death for their good actions during life. Hermes Thismegistus who had also visited the country and obtained information from every source he could, declared that both the gods and daemons of Egypt were dead men; that the ghosts of the great, good and illustrious were the friends and protectors of mankind, while the ghosts of the murderers, robbers and liars were the enemies and persecutors of mankind.

Diodorus Siculus, who is a better authority than either Hermes or Herodotus bears testimony to the same general facts. He tells us that besides the sun, moon and seven primary planets which the Egyptians called the eternal gods, they also worshipped as gods "such as were taken from the earth."* Several of their gods, he adds, had been kings of

* Ed. Wessel, pp. 14, 17. See, also, August, Civ. Dei., l. xxviii., c. 26.

Egypt, and some of them bore the same names as the celestial gods. All our readers know that the principal gods of Egypt were Isis and Osiris, and Diodorus claims to have no doubt that these divinities had been king and queen of Egypt.

If we turn from the Egyptians to the Hindoos, we shall find that both the Brahmins and the Buddhists have their mortal as well as immortal gods—their malignant dæmons as well as their beneficent dæmons. Neither the Greeks, the Romans, nor any other ancient people had so large a number of the former as the Hindoos; but the latter also regard their dæmoniac enemies and persecutors as the ghosts of wicked men who died without duly atoning for their sins. In the island of Ceylon these wicked spirits have a sort of outpost hell, from which they make incursions throughout the peninsula of India, sometimes passing the Himalay range to aid their brethren on the northern side in doing all the mischief they can. The Buddhist priests boast of having to contend with six different classes of these dæmons; and numerous as each fraternity is, it seems they would not discard any of them lest they might lose their influence and authority over the masses. The various grades are classified as follows in their sacred books; 1, those who are suffering infernal torments; 2, those who for punishment are made to die and revive successively; 3, those who follow the Wanawarty or rebel chief of the Deva-loka, and ascend from the earth to fight Buddha; 4, the Asouras, subject to Wiebesana, who assist Schraia and inhabit the Deva-loka, or hell, awaiting the judgment of mortals, in order to inflict upon them the punishment to which they are condemned; 5, the diabolical serpents and magicians; 6, the dæmons subject to Bali who have to answer incantations, &c.*

The Persians and the Chinese have borrowed their divinities, good, bad and indifferent from the Hindoos, or, as some think from the Egyptians. Wherever they got them each have, or at least had, a numerous host, and a large variety including male and female. Of their characteris-

* Upham, *History and Doctrine of Buddhism*, pp. 129, 130.

tics it will be sufficient to say here that they are quite as bad as those of the divinities of Greece and Rome. Even the Peris, beautiful and amiable as they appear in Eastern poetry, are supposed to do much more harm than good; although of all the Persian *genii* they are the least disposed to injure man. Like the Fairies of the Irish they become the protectors of certain families, and often fight among themselves in defence of their protegès; but in the end the latter are apt to be as badly off, according to the common opinion, as if they had no such zealous, invisible guardians to watch over them.

Nor can any better character be given of the Chinese dæmons who are supposed to fill the land, the sea and the air. There are some of them called the *Chin*, whose business it is to act as winged messengers between heaven and earth, so as to keep the celestial gods fully advised as to what is passing here below. These have it in their power to exaggerate the faults of men; but the priests have the power of preventing them from doing so. At least they claim that power; and most of the people believe them. The importance of restraining this class of dæmons will be the more evident when it is remembered that after they have made their report they are empowered by the superior gods to seek out the malefactors and inflict condign punishment on them, but without entirely destroying life. They may deprive them of their wives and children, and of all their goods and chattels; and they may afflict them with the most loathsome and painful maladies, so that life becomes a burden to them. Yet some think that this class are not so bad as the *Chi* who introduce themselves into the head, the stomach, the belly, etc., and make their victims as miserable as possible.

But among all these Pagan malignant beings there is not one who is elevated to the character of an adversary of the supreme God. Jupiter, it is true, is said to be governed by the Fates; but as we have said the Fates were his own children.

Now if we turn to the ancient Hebrew writings whether sacred or profane, we shall find that they everywhere corroborate the above views in regard to the Pagan divinities of all classes. Throughout the Bible they are described as *dead*

persons; they are in all circumstances plainly distinguished from Jehovah the *living* God; and called dæmons or *Schirim*. The Hebrew writers did not consider them mere myths, however, but *strange* gods (*Elohim acherim*); beings superior in themselves, though of mortal origin. Nor did they regard the infernal deities of the Egyptians or Chaldeans, as opposed to their celestial deities; but doubtless this was because they had no such idea of their own Satan, whom they considered not as the enemy but the servant of Jehovah.

In short, in these early times none seem to have had such a bad opinion of the infernal divinities as became general some centuries afterwards. It is true that devils are frequently mentioned in the English version of the Bible, but very seldom, if ever, correctly. The term devil would do very well were it not that the Hebrew writers had no such opinion of their Satan as Christians have. In general, the Jews regarded him as merely the angel of death which was inevitable to all; at worst they considered him only as Jehovah's minister of justice; the obedient instrument, by which the Almighty punished those who violated his laws.

Even in Job where Satan does most mischief, if we except what took place in the garden of Eden, he does not appear as the adversary of God. What we are told by the inspired writers, it should be remembered, is, that when the sons of God came to present themselves before the Lord, Satan came also among them.* However much disposed he may have been to put the uprightness and piety of Job to a severe test; however willing or anxious he is to afflict him, he does nothing to him without the permission of Jehovah. It may be said, indeed, that he behaves ill; but nothing worse than a bad servant having the power might be supposed to do. Finally, Jehovah gives him authority: "Behold he is in thine hand, but save his life!"† This is in strict accordance with the general Hebrew faith, that Satan was the angel of death.

The misfortune of Satan, according to the Jews of this time was, not that he was in open rebellion against Jehovah, or even that he was the enemy of mankind, but that

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* C. ii. v., 1. † Ib. v. 6.

of all the servants of the Almighty he had to execute the worst commissions. None of our readers need think that there is any infidelity or heresy in these views. We are sustained in them by the most pious and orthodox of the Christian fathers, including Sts. Augustine, Justin Martyr, Jerome, &c. It is true that the Satan of the Chaldeans was regarded as the original cause of all evil, and as the enemy of Ormuzd, their supreme divinity; but the Chaldeans were Pagans, at least when they viewed Satan in this light. The best recent writer on the faith of the ancient Israelites is M. Henrick, of Berlin, who, we believe, is an Israelite himself. In his excellent work on the origin and character of Hebrew and Arabic poetry, he tells us that "The character of the angels mentioned in the ancient Hebrew books is entirely different from that assigned to them at a later period. In the book of Job we see them accomplish the designs of God. They protect men, and plead before the Eternal in their favor; and they are exempt neither from sin nor from faults; the notions of Satan, considered only as a genius of evil, present themselves only in books much more recent than that of Job."*

In those more recent books the character of Satan has greatly degenerated. However, if we had time and space to trace him through all, we could easily show how gradual this degeneracy has been, but we can only refer to an instance here and there, almost at random. Thus, in the Chronicles, which are regarded by all commentators as among the latest books of the Bible, we are informed that "Satan stood up against Israel and provoked David to number Israel."†

Still more powerful and more inimical to man has Satan become in Zachariah, which is a still more recent book than the Chronicles—probably one of the most recent of all the books of the Old Testament. In this he appears as the open adversary of the Angel of the Lord, and Jehovah rebukes him for his arrogance. "And he showed me Joshua the high priest standing before the angel of the Lord, and Satan standing at his right hand *to resist him.* And the Lord said unto Satan,

* *De Poeseis Hebraicae at que bribicae origine, indole mutuoque consensu.* Lips. p. 19.

† First. Chron. 1.

"The Lord rebuke thee, O Satan; is not this a brand plucked out of the fire?"*

In the New Testament this degeneracy continues until Satan becomes the wicked and frightful monster which all orthodox Christians regard him at the present day, although neither the evangelists nor the apostles make him quite so bad as he appears in our English version of the New Testament, in which, as we have already intimated, he is frequently confounded with beings of much less power, as well as less malignity; the term dæmons being almost invariably represented by devils.

We might fill pages with examples of this, but one or two will suffice. Thus, in 1st Corinthians, we read that "The things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to *devils* and not to God, and I would not that we have fellowship with *devils;* we cannot be partakers of the Lord's table and the table of devils."† The word in the original in each case is δαημωνα (dæmons.) It is the same in 1st Timothy, where the Apostle speaks of "giving heed to doctrines of devils."‡ The apostle James uses the term dæmons also in the passage translated, "The *devils* believe and tremble."§ In all these instances it is the human deities of the heathen that are alluded to, according to the most reliable commentators. It is not the less true, however, that the character of Satan, as given by both evangelists and apostles, fully justifies Milton's portraiture of the arch-fiend.

The fathers of the church accepted Satan as he was thus presented to them, and who can say that they were wrong in doing so? There is nothing absurd, or incredible in the idea that Satan has been growing more and more wicked and mischievous from the time he tempted Eve until the last book of the New Testament was written—nay, until Milton wrote his Paradise Lost. And if we believe that Satan has changed, why not believe also that the dæmons, or terrestial divinities have degenerated in a similar ratio? But this, perhaps, is irrelavant; we mention it only because we would not be under-

* Zach. iii. 12.
† Ch. x. 20—21.
‡ Ch. x. 1v.
§ Ch. ii. 19.

stood, even by the most thoughtless to sneer at a dogma which has been accepted by all denominations of orthodox Christians, especially by "reformed" Christains.

We have shown, in a former article, how malignant Satan had become in Luther's time, and how cruelly he tormented the great Reformer while engaged in reconstructing the Christian religion. Some excellent authorities are of opinion that the Evil One attained the culminating point of his wickedness just at this time. It is true that others whose authority is by no means to be despised, think that Satan must have become insane; this being the only hypothesis by which they can account, in any orthodox or rational manner, for his throwing the ink bottle at the reformer's head, and making such a terrible clatter about his bed-room at night, that he could not sleep when he was most in need of repose. Without attempting to decide whether the devil was in his right mind or not at this time, we, who are not theologians may venture to remark that his conduct to Luther as described by the great reformer himself in his Table Talk, was much more like that of a monkey than a "roaring lion." It is true that Luther had no idea that there was but one devil; his works everywhere show that he firmly believed there were "legions of devils." But he thought the inferior devils were intended only for inferior people; whereas Beelzebub himself found it necessary to bestow his attentions on the great—especially on those possessed of missions to found new religions.

We have made this remark in relation to the founder of our reformed religion, to show that the satanic degeneracy by no means ceased during the apostolic times; it continued to increase at least until the Reformation. In proof of this we refer to the works of Calvin, Knox, Henry VIII., &c.; and we ask our readers whether the fact may not account for the extraordinary zeal with which Catholics and Protestants burned, and otherwise mutilated each other in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries?

The devils and dæmons of the old church were, indeed, bad and numerous enough. Chrysostom numbers among the favors of Providence to sinful man that when the air is

full of dæmons and adverse powers we do not discern them; for the sight of them might frighten us out of our wits, if not to death.* Still more gloomy is the picture drawn by St. Thomas Aquinas, whose superior authority may be regarded as settling the question as to the status and character of the whole tribe of infernal divinities in his time. "The dæmons," says the Angel of the Schools, "are impure spirits, enemies of the human race, reasonable, subtile in their malice, eager to hurt, arrogant, constantly forming new artifices, being able to modify our senses, to corrupt our hearts, to trouble our repose, agitating us by dreams during our sleep, causing maladies, exciting tempests, incessantly transporting hell with them, causing themselves to be adored as idols, seeking to control good men, authors of magic arts created to prove the good, and always trying to ensnare man, so that they may make their own of him at last."†

This, as we have said, was bad enough; but did not the Reformation make the devil and his emissaries still worse? Before Luther's time the sinner had some hope of escaping; even when devils took possession of him they could be exorcised; prayers and holy water made them seek a new dwelling. Besides, great sinners were not so numerous then as they became after the Reformation; sins that were comparatively trifling before it, became heinous after it; nay, things that were not sins at all, or even faults, placed one in the power of the devil and his myriads of emissaries at once. The old Christians could save themselves by their good works; but no works, however good, could save the new Christians! Everybody sinned, and merited hell fire; therefore the devil had power over everybody. One might do all the commandments required, and as much more as possible, Satan could retain him still in his grasp; grace was the only thing to save him. Even after receiving this grace as a special favor there were a thousand things formerly considered harmless which cast him back again into the grasp of Beelzebub. Nay a large proportion of the new Christians

* Opera Jour. v. p. 137.

† *Compendium Theologiæ veritatis*, lib. ii. c. 26.

found that they had been condemned to fire and brimstone to all eternity countless ages before they were born!

Thus the power of Satan was increased by the Reformers a hundred fold; and it is acknowledged by all that the wicked grow worse and worse in proportion as their power is increased. During the last twenty years, however, Satan has seemed to be rather regaining his old character. Not, indeed, but there has been as much mischief in the world during that period as ever, perhaps somewhat more. But the adversary has kept remarkably quiet; he has seldom exhibited his cloven foot even in the worst society, and still more rarely has he thrown ink bottles at the heads of doctors of divinity for their efforts to put the world on their guard against his machinations. Who then can deny that instead of continuing to grow worse, as in the past ages, he has considerably improved in his general conduct during the last quarter of a century? If he only continues to mend at the same rate during the next quarter of a century he will be no worse than he was in the time of the good St. Thomas. This would leave him bad enough still, it is true, but he would then be under the control of the clergy, and no longer the "roaring lion" or hyena he has been for some centuries past. We are not of those who have any objections to his being made amenable once more to holy water.

It is a very common opinion in Protestant countries at the present day that it is the Catholics who make most use of Satan. A great many jokes are indulged in against "mother Church," by well meaning Protestants, on this ground; but we wish to put such on their guard against exposing themselves to the charge of ignorance. They have only to examine a portion of our Protestant literature with tolerable carefulness, without troubling themselves with theology, or any other abstract science. They might begin, for example, with Butler's Hudibras. This would show them that in the good old Puritan times there was a constant struggle on the part of the devil to do all the mischief in his power, and that there were notorious daily evidences of his success. His power was so great that poor sinners were almost afraid to eat their food on the Sabbath day, lest he

might seize on them. As for preparing their meals on Sunday, as on other days, there was scarcely any hope for those who were so impious as to do it. If they attempted to take any recreation it was nearly as bad. All profane singing; all songs not divinely inspired, empowered Satan to act at once. As for dancing on the Sabbath it was like the sin against the Holy Ghost. Nay, it was satanical to be learned in anything but Scripture; even ministers of the Gospel were supposed to be in danger of fire and brimstone if they attempted to learn Greek or Latin, especially the latter, which had then become "the language of anti-Christ."

All this seemed very absurd, though amusing to the author of Hudibras, yet there was authority for it. Even the shoemakers, barbers and tailors, who ascended the pulpit to protect their honest neighbors from the machinations of Satan could show that the new code was orthodox. Not only had they before their eyes Luther's "Conference with the devil," in the largest type, but also the kindred performances of Calvin at Geneva. What these were would seem incredible at the present day, even to the most intolerant advocates of blue laws. We can only mention in passing, two or three of the grave offences against which these laws were directed. Audin informs us that "They punished with imprisonment the lady who arranged her hair with too much coquetry, and even her chambermaid who assisted in her toilet; the merchant who played at cards; the peasant who spoke too harshly to his beast; and the citizen who had not extinguished his lamp at the hour appointed by law."* The same historian tells us that "A merchant who sold wafers with a cross was fined sixty sols; and his wafers were cast into the fire as idolatrous,"† and that "Three tanners were put in prison for three days on bread and water, for having eaten at breakfast three dozen pieces of pastry."

Of course, all this was done, and a good deal more of the same kind, for the benefit of the transgressors and of those

* Hist. de la Vie, des Ouvrages et des Doctrines de Calvin, vol. ii. p. 12.

† Ib., p. 173.

who might have imitated their bad example if they had not been duly punished. The thing was not done because the pious law-makers did not love the people, and respect their liberties, but because they feared Satan perhaps a little more than was necessary!

Milton has been greatly blamed, by certain critics, for the almost unlimited power which he has bestowed on Satan, in his Paradise Lost, some maintaining that he has made him the hero of his great epic, rather than the Almighty. It must be admitted that he has made him a great personage; but had he assigned him a lower rank in power or influence he could not have given a faithful portraiture of the new theology; and be it remembered that it is the duty of an epic poet to represent things not as they really are, but as they are believed to be by the majority of his readers. Milton must, therefore, be regarded by every fair and unprejudiced critic as fully justified in this respect, although under one name or another, he has introduced the devil more than one hundred and fifty times in his Paradise Lost. Under the name of Satan alone he appears sixty-nine or seventy times; and in no Catholic work, that we have ever seen, does he attain such gigantic proportions. Thus, we are told,

> "On the other side, Satan, alarmed
> Collecting all his might, *dilated* stood,
> *Like Teneriff or Atlas unremoved:*
> His *stature reached the sky.*"—IV. 985.

Beelzebub, the next in power, is not quite so huge; but we read—

> "Sage he stood,
> With *Atlantean shoulders* fit to bear
> The *weight of mightiest monarchies.*"—II., 305.

A considerable number of Milton's devils are thus described in turn, including Azazel, Satan's standard-bearer, at whose sight on the morning of battle,

> "The universal host up sent
> A shout that *tore hell's concave* and beyond
> Freighted the reign of Chaos and old Night."—I., 441.

The poet is equally orthodox, though more Calvinistic, than

Lutheran, in estimating the number of Satan's emissaries—

> "An host
> *Innumerable* as the stars of night
> Or stars of morning, dew drops, which the sun
> Impearls on every leaf and every flower."—V. 743.

Thus, without reading any other works than those of Milton, Butler and Audin—one a poet, the other a historian—it would be seen by any unprejudiced, intelligent reader, that if either party have reason to laugh at the other for making a little too much of Satan, it is the Catholics who have reason to laugh at the Protestants; and we may add that the former have laughed accordingly—some of them in rather a provoking manner. Nor need we go beyond our own Protestant country for a very excellent specimen of this sort of railery. The highest dignitary of the Catholic church in America, while commenting, in a learned and valuable work which we have quoted, as a reliable authority, more than once, on the relations which the great reformer was said, by his own brethren, to have with Satan, makes the following remarks: "Luther himself relates his 'conference with the devil' in full, and acknowledges, at the close of it that he was unable to answer the arguments of Satan!* The devil, as was quite natural, argued against the lawfulness of private Masses, which Luther feebly defended: and so convincing were the reasons of his Satanical majesty, that Luther wrote to his intimate friend, Melancthon, immediately after, 'I will not again celebrate private masses for ever.' "† And he faithfully kept his promise! It was a favorite saying of his that "unless we have the devil hanging about our necks we are but pitiful, speculative theologians."‡

The difficulty is that we cannot deny how well founded these anti-satanic jokes are; we must frankly admit that, judging by the views of the chief reformer, the "reconstructed" church had as much need of the devil, or, at least, was as much in his power as any other church whatever, not excepting that of the Brahmins or Buddhists.

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* Vide his *De Missâ.*

† Sed et ego amplias non faciam missam privatam in æternam—Ad Melanctb. Aug. 1, 1521.

‡ Nisi diabolum habemus collo affixum nihil nisi speculativi theologi sumus. *Colloquia Mensalia,* fol. 23. Apud Audin, 1, 336.

History of the Prot. Reformation in Germany and Switzerland, &c., &c. By M. J. Spalding, D.D., Archbishop of Baltimore, vol. 1, p. 90.

ART. II.—*La Civilization au cinquième Siècle par* A. FREDERIC OZANAM, Professeur de la Litterature Etrangère, a la Faculté de Lettres de Paris.

2. *Histoire Universelle de l'Église chretienne.* Par M. MATTER : Strasbourg, 1835.

3. *Histoire de la Chute du Paganism dans l'Occident.* Par M. LE COMTE BEUGNOT : Paris.

4. *Sacred Latin Poetry, chiefly Lyrical, selected and arranged for use; with Notes and Introduction:* by RICHARD CHENEVIX TRENCH, D. D., Archbishop of London. London : 1864.

5. *Where were our Gospels written! An Argument by* CONSTANTINE TISCHENDERF ; *With a narrative of the discovery of the Sinaitic Manuscript.*

ONE of the most remarkable signs of the present time is the prominent place which the discussion of Christian antiquities holds in the current literature of the day. There seems to be a revival of that spirit which was so active in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries of the Church, and which gave to the world such men as Origen, Eusebius, and Jerome. There is as great a diversity of sects now, as then ; and as great contention as to the origin, history, and interpretation of the sacred records as prevailed between the Gnostics, the Marcionites, the Arians, and other heretics on the one side, and the orthodox Christians on the other.

The authenticity of the books of the Bible was constantly disputed by some and upheld by others. One sect, for instance, would reject the Apocalypse altogether, while another would accept it as a book for use in the church, but deny that it was written by the apostle John. Each of the canonical gospels had its adversaries and its defenders ; while a number of apocryphial gospels were at the same time put forward as of equal authencity with, or supplementary to, them. There were unbelieving philosophers, and philosophizing Christians in those days, who refined

away all that savours of the supernatural or of divine interference, just as the disciples of the modern rationalist school of Germany do in these.

But there has been a long interval between the former and the latter. After the subsidence of the great Arian controversy, and the Donatist schism in the fourth and fifth centuries, orthodoxy assumed the lead, and so firmly established its claims to the homage of mankind that for many centuries all efforts to shake its authority proved futile, and brought destruction on those who made them. For a thousand years the Church ruled over the western world with irresistible strength, and it was not until the sixteenth century that blows were struck at the supremacy which shook it to the foundation. From the days of Luther and Calvin down to the present time there has been a continual widening of the breach between the mother church and her "protesting" children; and the latter have split up into a variety of sects which it would not be an easy task to enumerate or describe.

Fortunately for us, we are not now called upon to undertake such a labour; our present object being simply to draw attention to the tendency which religious thought has developed in our time, and to point out the abounding interest which the subject of Christian antiquities possesses, not merely for the divine and the scholar, but for all who will take the trouble to read and think for themselves.

Within the last forty years there has been produced a much greater amount of literature relating to the origin of Christianity and the history of its early records, than has appeared for many centuries previously. In all ages attacks have been made upon the authority of both, and in recent times Spinoza, Hobbes, Hume, Voltaire, Priestley, and their followers, have been no mean adversaries; but in their day the world—that is, the Christian world—was rather scandalized than alarmed by the efforts made by these men to prove the absurdity and the improbability of the miracles on which Christianity rests. Their writings had but a very limited effect on the religious community at large, though they leavened the minds of thousands who had been predis-

posed by political ambition and domestic tyranny, as in France and Germany, to rebel against all authority, civil or ecclesiastical. With persons of this description it was an easy step from throwing off their allegiance to the church to throwing off their allegiance to its founder. Our grandfathers, who remained faithful to the principles instilled into them in childhood, were content with such answers to the infidels as were put forth from time to time by the learned doctors of the Church.

The adversaries of the faith in modern times, however, have resorted to the sap and mine, rather than to the battering ram of old, or the heavy artillery of to-day. They pull to pieces in detail; they do not so much deny facts, as question the evidence on which the facts are to be believed. This system provides endless employment both for assailant and assailed; and it has been perseveringly used by the modern German theologians, critics, and scholars. The Bible has been thoroughly "overhauled" and dissected, root and branch; its smallest fibres have been subjected to analysis, and the result has been the accumulation of an amount of learning and knowledge respecting the history and antiquities of the East, and of the Jews and the early Christians, which renders the works of Taylor, Warburton, and other divines of the last century, obsolete.

Add to these critical and scholarly investigations the numerous works of travellers and explorers, whose labours have, within the present century, shed so much light upon the topography of the countries wherein occurred the incidents recorded in Scripture, and which have strikingly developed the fulfilment of prophecy, and the truthfulness of the Bible pictures of oriental life; and it is evident that we of the present day possess materials for forming opinions on vexed points, and for testing new theories, as well as old ones, which give us an enormous advantage over the last generation. In this respect the works of Strauss Weisse, Gfrörer, Bauer, Renan, Schenkel, and others have been of use; they have necessitated, on the part of those who are now called upon to stand forth as champions of the Christian Church, the cultivation of a very much deeper know-

ledge of Hebrew, Greek, and their cognate languages, and of the early Christian history and literature, as well as of the history and antiquities of the old world, than formerly sufficed for the most eminent scholars. A recent writer says "The Christian world is more indebted to Germany and her skeptical writers for light respecting the scriptures, than to all the orthodox commentators from the age of the fathers to their time; for their attacks and their assiduity in their efforts to overthrow scripture have led to the formation of nearly all the intelligent biblical literature that we have; for when they did not themselves furnish that light, they opened the avenues and stirred up a new field of Christian inquiry, showing that God uses whom He will." And Dr. Stowe, in his work on "The Origin and History of the Books of the Bible" (p. 252) justly remarks that "the German unbelief cannot now be successfully encountered without the help of German learning. The antidote is scarcely to be found except where the poison grows. The climes which yield the most noxious plants are the very climes which produce the most effective medicines, the sweetest fruit, the most luxurious vegetation."

Few persons, besides those whose profession naturally leads them to the subject, are aware of the extent and variety of the early Christian literature. Under this head we include not only those evangelical and apostolical writings which form the canon of the New Testament and are now universally received as the foundation of all Christian doctrine; but those apocryphal compositions which were written, or were said to have been written, by the apostles, or by their associates or disciples, and which passed under the names of gospels, epistles, acts, revelations, visions, traditions, hymns, doctrine, preaching, judgment, &c.; and also the histories and commentaries of the Christian ecclesiastics of the first four centuries. Many of these productions have been entirely lost. Some have come down to us entire, others in a mutilated or fragmentary form; while of others, again, there remain only such extracts as are found in the writings of Origen, Eusebius, Jerome, and others, who quoted from them while they discussed their merits.

Many of our readers will be surprised to learn that at one time, in the second century, there were no fewer than thirty-eight gospels in existence, some of which actually claimed to be the originals of, and equal in authority to, the four canonical gospels. There were fourteen books passing under the title of Acts, exclusive of the authentic Acts of the Apostles. It has been said that there were two hundred epistles attributed to the apostle Paul which were then in circulation. We have a list of thirty-one epistles by various authors, besides the twenty-one which form part of the New Testament. There were six books styled "Revelations," besides the apocalypse of St. John, and there were twelve "books," properly so called, attributed for the most part to the apostles. Besides all these there were miscellaneous writings which do not fall exactly under any of these heads; such were the Apostles' Creed, the Hymn which Jesus taught to his disciples, and those books which were known under the names of the "the Traditions of Matthew," "the doctrine of Peter," "the preaching of Peter," "the judgment of Peter," "the preaching of Paul," and the like.

Here we have one hundred and thirty-five books and writings of various kinds, of which twenty-seven were the genuine productions of inspired writers, the remaining one hundred and eight being apocryphal, that is to say, of doubtful authenticity. Of the hundred and thirty-five, there are extant thirty-six, and the remaining sixty-nine have been lost. The titles of some of these lost books would be sufficient to stifle any regret we might feel at their disappearance; such, for instance, as "the Arabic gospel of Joseph, the carpenter," "the Gospel of Truth," "the Gospel of Encratites," "the epistle of Christ to Peter and Paul," "the general epistle of Christ," (produced by the Manichees)," the Epistle of Themison, the Montanist," "the Book of the Helkasaites," "the Book of Lentitius," "the Revelation of Cerinthus" (the heretic), &c.

The apocryphal religious literature of the early centuries of the Christian era was, indeed, abundant enough to satisfy the cravings of an ordinary appetite; for to the works

above mentioned must be added those connected with the Old Testament and the Jews. A very large portion of the Old Testament Apocrypha has been lost; but it is difficult, if not impossible, to say exactly how, when, or where. The many national convulsions which befel the Jews are, however, sufficient to account for the disappearance of their literature, and the wonder is, rather that so much has been preserved, than that so much has been lost. When we reflect upon the devastations committed in Palestine from time to time by Philistine, Syrian, Egyptian, Assyrian, Babylonian, Arab, Persian, Greek, and Roman, to say nothing of the intestine feuds which constantly prevailed among the Jews themselves—we may well believe that a Divine hand alone could have preserved to us the Old Testament scriptures. We may go a step further and say that the same power has preserved all that was necessary for us, and that what has perished would have been useful merely as illustrative of the history or of the modes of thought prevalent in that part of the world in those days.

But here, again, our readers (meaning, of course, those who have not made this department of literature their study) will be surprised at the number and variety of the Old Testament apocryphal writings, including therein the lost books. There are thirty-six "books" and writings referred to by name in the Old Testament, all of which have perished, excepting such portions thereof as have been incorporated in the text of Scripture, as has been the case with those from which the books of Kings and Chronicles were compiled. The number of apocryphal, or doubtful books, is twenty-two, and nearly all of them were written between the end of the third century before Christ and the second century after Christ, a period of about four hundred years. During this period were compiled those eminently Jewish oracles, the Talmud and the Targum, with their addenda and commentatories thereon by a host of learned men like Hillel, Shammai, Gamaliel, Philo, Josephus, Akiva, Meir, Simon, Eliezer, Jehuda, and others, whose works would form a library in themselves. Thus, apart from the canonical Scriptures (old and new), there are upwards of two hun-

dred works to which the student of theological and ecclesiastical literature could devote his attention in the fourth century of the Christian era.

But these were not all. Between the time of the apostles and the end of the fourth century upwards of one hundred writers, some of them Jews, some orthodox Christians, others heretics, pagans, and infidels, produced works of more or less merit in reference to Christianity. Some assailed it, and others defended it, or "apologized" for it (a favourite phrase in those days, when the word had a different signification attached to it from that which it now has). Others commented on the then current Christian literature, defending the orthodox interpretation of Scripture or putting their own upon it.

Many of these men were voluminous writers, whose works have rendered incalculable service to the Church, and some of them have ever since been dignified by the title of "Father." Among these Fathers of the Church were Ambrose, bishop of Milan, Athanasius, Basil of Cæsarea, Chrysostom, Clement of Rome (the friend and fellow labourer of the apostle Paul), Clement of Alexandria, Cyprian, Cyril of Alexandria, Dionysius of Alexandria (surnamed the Great), Epiphanius, Eusebius (the historian of the early Church), Gregory of Nazianzen, Jerome (the author of the common Latin version of the Bible called the Vulgate), Hilary of Poitiers, Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (a disciple of the apostle John), Irenæus, bishop of Lyons, Justin Martyr, Melito, bishop of Sardis, Origen, and Polycarp (a disciple of the apostle John).

The education of a doctor of the Church is incomplete without some acquaintance with the works of these illustrous men and of their opponents, pagan and heretic, such as Celsus, Montanus, Tertullian, Arius, Marcian, Julian the Apostate, Sabellius, Theodotus, and Valentinus. The works of the Christian writers of the first four centuries fill several hundred volumes, and had those men had the facilities which exist at the present day for publishing their thoughts to the world, their writings would doubtless have been much more voluminous. As it is, there is matter enough in them to

occupy more time in the study of them than can now be spared by any but those whose professional duty it is to be masters of ecclesiastical literature; added to which must be taken into consideration the fact that, in order to understand and appreciate these works properly, it is necessary that he who studies them should possess a competent knowledge of Greek and Latin, and the more Hebrew he can bring to his assistance the better.

Some modern skeptical writers think that had those books which have been lost been handed down to us, many things which are obscure in the scriptures would have been explained, and that doctrines which are now generally accepted as those held by the early Christians would appear in a different light. The best answer that can now be given to such surmises—for they do not amount to arguments—is that these books were ridiculed and condemned by most of those who read them, and who were best qualified to judge of their merits, and that they perished from existence and almost from memory on account of their worthlessness.

One of the books which the world has "willingly let die" is "the Book of Jannes and Mambres," whence (according to Origen) the apostle Paul derived his information respecting the two magicians which he makes use of in the 2d Epistle to Timothy, iii., 8. Origen tells us that this was "a secret book," by which he means, probably, a book relating to the secret art of magic, by which Jannes and Mambres were enabled to withstand Moses, to turn rods into serpents and rivers into blood, and to bring up frogs over the land. (Exodus, vii. viii.) We may also fairly infer from their titles that the gospel of Eve, the gospel of Judas Iscariot, the gospel of Perfection, the gospel of Truth, and the other lost books before mentioned, were about on a par with "the Book of Jannes and Mambres," as regards utility and veracity; and that some of them contained legends of the most extravagant character, such as the exploits or "Acts" of the apostles Andrew and Matthias in the city of the cannibals, and their contests with the devil (cited by Dr. Stowe in his "Origin and History of the Books of the Bible"), or reli-

gious myths like the famous "Legion of the Cross," as given by Didron in his *Iconographie Chretienne.*

This legend, by the way, being one of the shortest as well as one of the most favourable specimens of this class of fable in vogue among the Christians of the middle ages, but founded mainly on early ecclesiastical and Jewish rabbinical traditions, we quote here: "After the death of Adam, Seth planted on the tomb of his father a shoot from the tree of life which grew in the terrestial Paradise. From it sprang three little trees united by one single trunk. And from one of these Moses gathered the rod with which he astonished the Egyptians and the people in the desert. Solomon desired to convert the same tree, which had become gigantic in size, into a column for his palace, but being either too short or too long, it was rejected, and served as a bridge over a torrent. The queen of Sheba refused to pass over that tree, declaring that it would one day occasion the destruction of the Jews. Solomon then commanded that it should be thrown into the pool of Bethesda, and its virtues were immediately communicated to the waters. When Christ was condemned to death his cross was made of the wood of that very tree. It was buried on Golgotha, and afterwards discovered by the empress Helena (the mother of Constantine the Great). It was carried away from Palestine by Chosroes, king of Persia, who flattered himself that in possessing it he possessed the Son of God, and he caused it to be enthroned on his right hand; but it was brought back in triumph to Jerusalem by the emperor Heraclius. Being afterwards dispersed in a multitude of fragments throughout the Christian world, countless miracles were performed by it. The wood of the cross was born with the world in the terrestrial Paradise; it will re-appear in heaven at the end of time, borne in the arms of Christ or of his angels, when the Lord shall descend to judge the world at the last day."

The millennium was a subject which exercised men's minds in early times, much as it does now, and there seems to have been as great a diversity of opinions as to the true interpretation of the Apocrypha as there is at present. The

Christians of the apostolic times appear to have shared in the belief which some have attributed to the apostles, that the Lord would come during the lifetime of that generation, and they therefore troubled themselves little about the prophecy, but contented themselves with waiting for the event. But as time passed away and the first and second generations of Christians passed away with it, and there were no indications of the Lord's presence, men began to perceive that the Revelation of St. John admitted of another interpretation, and that the time of the second advent was uncertain. Then arose contention among them, which at length produced serious results among the fiery oriental converts of Asia and Africa.

It is to be noted, however, that amid all these disputes, the fact that the apocrypha was the genuine production of the apostle John was not called in question for nearly two centuries after it was written, and it was not until the third century that doubts were started as to its being an apostolical work. The way in which this first occurred is so peculiar as to be worthy of particular notice. About the year (A. D.) 230, Nepos, bishop of Arsinoë, in Egypt, published a book under the title of "Refutation of the Allegorists," in which he advocated the doctrine of the personal reign of Christ upon earth for a thousand years—popularly called the millennium—and he sustained it principally by quotations from the Apocrypha.

This book met with great success, and Nepos made many converts, who began to secede from the mother Church at Alexandria, which opposed their notions. After the death of Nepos, A. D. 255, Coracion, the pastor of a country church, took the lead in propagating the same sentiments. Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, wishing to put an end to this dispute, but unwilling to fulminate ecclesiastical thunders, which he knew would only irritate his opponents without subduing or converting them, went into the province of Arsinoë, where the seceders were most numerous, and proposed an amicable conference with them. They agreed to this, and met him with their leader, Coracion, at their head, and the book of Nepos was carefully read and its arguments

were examined and discussed. Dionysius spent three days in reasoning with them, and by his mildness and forbearance and the force of his arguments satisfied them that they were wrong. And so thoroughly did he gain their good will that Coracion, in the name of all the rest, thanked him for his kindness and his instructions, and declared that they renounced their own opinions and adopted his.

The sequel, however, (as related by Neander in his "Church History," part I.) is the curious portion of the story. Dionysius converted Coracion and his followers, but in so doing lost his own faith in the Apocrypha! In order to secure the victory he had gained he wrote a book on the Promises; but the trouble he had in the matter led him to doubt whether the Apocrypha which had, as he supposed, done so much mischief, could be of divine authority, or, at any rate, the production of an apostle. Accordingly in his work he alluded to the fact that some had before his time rejected the book, alleging that it was altogether dark and entirely without sense or reason, and they had ascribed it to the heretic Cerinthus who lived in the time of St. John at Ephesus; but he (Dionysius) would not presume to reject it, as many of his Christian brethren held it in high estimation; he admitted that he could not understand it, but would not on that account reject it; he, however, could not believe it was written by the apostle, but would admit that it was written by a man named John, who was a holy and *inspired* man! This admission of the learned bishop's, that the Apocrypha was not written by the apostle John but by an inspired man of that name, reminds us forcibly of the Frenchman's criticism on the authorship of the plays usually attributed to Shakspeare, wherein, after a careful review of the evidence *pro* and *con*, he comes to the conclusion that they were not written by Shakspeare but *by another man of the same name!*

Dionysius being in a dilemma, owing mainly to the natural candor and honesty of his disposition which could not entirely bend to the errors of his judgment, felt himself constrained to admit that it was a John who wrote the Revelation, because the writer of it said so, but added that

it was uncertain what John it was. His idea was that a certain John, surnamed the Presbyter, whose monument was to be seen at Ephesus as well as that of the apostle, was the real author. We have no intention of going into an investigation of the subject, but merely cite the case of Dionysius of Alexandria in illustration of the mode in which heresies were sometimes engendered in the Church in those days. The controversy thus set on foot by him (based as it was upon nothing but his own inability to understand the Apocalypse, and not upon any historical testimony, which, in fact, was all against him) continued for many centuries, and wherever it prevailed the anti-millenialists felt the same anxiety as Dionysius had to rid themselves of the authority of the Apocalypse, as the only way to overcome the difficulties with regard to the prediction that the saints should live and reign with Christ a thousand years.

The rapid growth of the early literature of the Christian Church is one of the most remarkable features of those times. The earthly mission of our Lord terminated in his crucifixion in the year 33. Between that event and the martyrdom of the apostles Peter and Paul under Nero, A. D. 66, elapsed 33 years. During that period were written three of the canonical gospels and all of the epistles of Paul and Peter; and before the close of the century appeared all the remaining portions of the New Testament and a number of apocryphal writings, consisting of the Epistles, Canons, "Constitutions," "Recognitions," &c., attributed to Clement, bishop of Rome; the alleged correspondence between the Roman philosopher, Seneca, and St. Paul; that between Jesus and Abgarus, king of Edessa; the general epistle of Barnabas; the acts of Pilate, said to have been written by Nicodemus, the disciple of Christ; and the writings of Hermas, a brother of Pius 1st, bishop of Rome, and a disciple of St. Paul.

Among the Jews and Jewish converts were produced about the same time the Targums of Onkelos and of Jonathan-ben-Uzziel; the 3d and 4th books of Esdras; the book of Jubilees; the letter of Jeremiah; the commentaries of Hillel, Philo, Gamaliel, and others on the Talmud; the works of

the historian Josephus, which give so full and graphic an account of the destruction of Jerusalem and the conquest of Judea by the Romans; the epistles of Ignatius to the Ephesians, Romans, Magnesians, Trallians, Philadelphians, Smyrnæans, and Philippians, and to Polycarp, who was the first bishop of Smyrna, and ordained by the apostle John; and the writings of Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, in Phrygia, who was a zealous believer in the millennium, and who asserted that he was taught to believe in it by St. John himself; he was also an indefatigable collector of the traditions relating to Christ and the apostles and the early martyrs and disciples which were current in his time. The evidence of Papias is very valuable on many points.

The second century was still more prolific in apocryphal books and controversial writings. Among the former were a number of gospels attributed to the different apostles, such as the gospel of the birth and infancy of Jesus, ascribed to St. James, the like by St. Thomas, the gospel of Peter, of Bartholomew, of Thaddeus, of Matthias, of Andrew, of Jude, of Philip, of Barnabas, and of Judas Iscariot; the gospels of the birth of Jesus, the infancy of Jesus, the childhood of the Redeemer, Joseph the carpenter, the twelve Apostles, the Hebrews, the Egyptians, the Ebionites, the Eneratites, the Nazarenes, those of Apelles, Basilides, Cerinthus, Hesychius, Lucianus, Merinthus, Scythianius, Tatian, and Valentinus, most of whom were heretics, and who fabricated these books to advance their own peculier views. Also the memoirs of the twelve apostles, which work (now lost) is supposed by some to have been original memoranda of the acts and sayings of Jesus, made at the time by the apostles, and from which the evangelists subsequently framed the gospels; also the Diatessaron of Tatian, which was a harmony of the four canonical gospels written by Tatian, the founder of the sect of the Encratites, who rejected marriage and the use of meat and wine; he died A.D. 190. Besides all these "gospels" (so called) there were those before mentioned of Eve, of Perfection, and of Truth. There were histories of the acts of the apostles written by Seleucus, by Lucius, by Lentitius, by Leonitus, by Leuthen,

and those used by the Ebionites; also the acts of several of the apostles, viz., Peter, Paul, John, Thomas, and Andrew, and the martyrdom of Thekla.

Besides these there were the books, so called, of Andrew, of Christ, of Bartholomew, of the Helkasaites, of James, of John, of Lentitius, Matthew, Matthias, Paul, Peter, Thomas, with sundry revelations attributed to the same. Also the controversial writings, histories, and commentaries of more than forty men who were eminent or notorious, some for their learning, some for their piety, some for their heresy, some for their hostility to Christianity. Among the latter were the celebrated physician Celsus, and the satirist Lucian. Prominent for piety and heroism under persecution were Irenæus and Justin Martyr; for learning, Clement of Alexandria, Pamphilus, Theodotus, and Theophilus, bishop of Antioch.

But the heretics of this century were the most remarkable men and among the most learned and able writers, such were Tertullian, Marcion, Basilides, and Valentine, who taught some extraordinary doctrines. Basilides, for instance, taught that the Supreme Being produced himself from seven Æons or eternal ages or natures, who, again, engendered three hundred and sixty-five angels; that these angels made the world and governed it, until they quarrelled; that God then sent His own Son, Christ, the chief of the Æons, to restore peace; and that he united himself with the man Jesus, who was crucified by the Æon who presided over the Jews. This Basilides was an Egyptian, so was Valentine, who first promulgated his doctrines at Rome, whence they spread through Europe, Asia, and Africa, and as they developed the oriental philosophy they are deserving of notice.

Valentine taught that in the Pleroma, or immensity of space, there were thirty Æons, half male, half female, and four more of neither sex. These four were Horus, Christ, the Holy Ghost, and Jesus. The youngest of the female Æons, Sophia (or Wisdom) brought forth a daughter named Achamath, who, being banished from Pleroma, fell into and arranged the undigested mass of matter, and by the assistance of Jesus produced the Demiurge, or subordinate work-

man. This Deomiurge separated the animal from the terrestrial matter, and out of the former created the heavens, and out of the latter the earth. He also made man, uniting in him the subtile and grosser matter; but Achamath added to him also a spiritual and a celestial substance. Valentine further taught that this world is a compound of good and evil; whatever is good in it comes down from God, and to Him shall it return, and then the world shall be destroyed by fire. Marcion, of Pontus, believed in two principles—one good, the other evil; to these he added a third or intermediate deity, to whom he ascribed the creation of this lower world and the legislation of the Jews.

Tertullian, the most vigorous and accomplished writer and ecclesiastic of the second century, adopted (strange to say) the preposterous views of Montanus, an ignorant fanatic of Phrygia, who declared himself to be the Paraclete, or Comforter, promised by our Lord, and sent to perfect the precepts of Christ; he inculated excessive austerity, and condemned the cultivation of literature and all care of the body. The followers of Montanus spread over Asia, Africa, and part of Europe, and were known by the name of Montanists.

The third century produced several eminent men in the Christian world. The most illustrious of them was Origen, a presbyter of Alexandria, who held that there was a mystical and spiritual, as well as a natural, mode of interpreting Scripture. He brought into prominent notice the controversy respecting the millennium and the baptism of heretics. He was a voluminous writer and commentator on the Scriptures, and to him we are indebted for a vast amount of information respecting the early ages of the Church. Julius Africanus, Arnobius, Dionysius, bishop of Alexandria, (who has been mentioned before), Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, Cyril, Minucius Felix, Hippolytus, and Lactantius, were also distinguished by their learning and writings. There were many others less distinguished but we cannot here enumerate them. A full account of them will be found in the works of Mosheim and Neander. During this century the heretics kept the Christian world in a constant ferment.

Ammonius Sacchas, of Alexandria, taught that true

philosophy came out of the East into Greece, where it was held in all its purity by Plato, but that it became corrupted and therefore Christ came to purify it. He considered the Deity and the Universe as one great whole, and he maintained the eternity of the world, the empire of Providence, and the government of mankind by demons. He commanded his disciples to mortify the flesh, in order that they might become Theurges, and able to see demons; and he asserted that Christ was the chief Theurge, or workman of God. This system of philosophy had a most injurious effect on Christianity, for its doctrines became mixed up with all kinds of theories arising out of Platonism, respecting the nature of the soul, the destiny of man, the use of reason, &c.

Manes, or Manichæus, a Persian and Magian priest, caused a great schism in the Church, and gave more trouble than any other heretics of that century. Manes asserted that he was the Comforter promised by Christ, and he taught doctrines which were a mixture of Christianity with the ancient religion of the Persians. He also insisted on the mortification of the body, and the suppression of all the natural appetites. His followers were called Manichæans, and were governed by a general assembly headed by a president who represented Christ; with him were joined twelve rulers who represented the twelve apostles, and these were followed by seventy-two bishops, representing the seventy-two disciples. These bishops had presbyters and deacons under them, and all the members of these religious orders were chosen out of the class of the elect or perfect Christians, the other class, or imperfect Christians styled "hearers" being ineligible. There were many other heresies, such as those of Noëtus, Sabellius, Hieron, Novatian, and others, which found full employment for the Christian writers of their day; but as we are not writing a history of the Church there is no occasion to give an account of them. The specimens already selected will suffice to give unlearned readers an idea of the notions which occupied the attention of the religious world in the first four centuries of the Christian era.

The fourth century may be considered the culminating period of the literature of the early Church. In it flourished those great writers and gifted men who are by common consent preëminently styled "the Fathers," viz., Ambrose, Athanasius, Eusebius, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Jerome. And there were others remarkable for learning and for their controversial powers, such as Arius, Ephraem the Syrian, Isidore of Alexandria, Methodius, Rufinus, Theodoret, Paulinus, &c.

After the subsidence of the great Arian controversy, the Melctian dispute, and the Donatist war, the literary genius of Christianity began to slumber. There were no longer the stimulants of persecution and poverty to call forth its energies. When the emperor Constantine publicly embraced Christianity persecution came to an end, and the religion of the despised Nazarene became all-fashionable as well as all-prevading. Paganism died out, and the Church had only to fear those enemies which were of her own household. She put forth all her strength to crush Arianism, Sabellianism, Manichæism, Montanism, and a variety of other *isms*, and was successful in Europe, though less so in Asia and Africa. But her literature languished from want of stimulus, and finally subsided into a very mediocre state, from which it did not emerge until the religious movements in the 14th 15th and 16th centuries roused it from its lethargy, and gave rise to an entirely new phase of controversial writing.

The cultivation of early Christian literature has received a fresh impetus from the recent successful labours of Dr. Constantine Tischendorf, the illustrous German biblical scholar, in the east. This indefatigable man, after unheard of exertion, toil, and risk, has achieved the great object of his ambition, viz., the discovery among the concealed literary treasures of the East of a genuine manuscript of the Bible of the most ancient date and of undoubted authenticity. Among a number of old parchments in the convent of St. Catharine, situated at the foot of Mount Sinai, he found upwards of forty sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek. Having been allowed to take possession of these he examined them closely and found enough to

induce him to prosecute further search, and this was rewarded by the ultimate finding of the rest of the manuscript. It proved to be a complete copy of the Greek translation from the Hebrew of the Old Testament, made by seventy-two of the most learned men employed by Ptolemy, king of Egypt, for that purpose; and also the New Testament in Greek, with the entire epistle of Barnabas, and a part of "the Shepherd of Hermas." Dr. Tichendorf has given to the world, in a little volume entitled *Wann wurden unsere Evangelien verfasst?* (When were our Gospels written?) a most interesting account of his discovery and of the difficulties which he had to overcome in making it, and in obtaining the manuscript. There can be no doubt that hundreds of precious manuscripts are still lying in obscure nooks in the ancient monasteries of that continent. Could these documents be brought to light and placed in the hands of such men as Tischendorf, there is no saying what service might be rendered to biblical knowledge, and to history. To those who are blessed with wealth and have enterprise to undertake such explorations here is a rich field for their labours. Throughout Asia Minor, Armenia, western Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria, Arabia, Egypt, northern Africa, and Ethiopia, which, in the early centuries of the Church and of the time of the rise of the Saracen empire in the 8th century, were the seats of flourishing churches, and were respectively under the jurisdiction of the patriarchs or presiding bishops of Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Carthage, exist the remains of many monasteries, once wealthy and influential communities, but now the shades of poor and ignorant recluses who live in constant dread of their Mahommedan oppressors, and of the predatory hordes which infest these lands.

Here the traveller may at the same time gratify his love of adventure and a desire to immortalize his name as a benefactor of literature and of humanity. Let any one so disposed take example by Dr. Tischendorf, and consider what may be achieved by strong determination to overcome obstacles and to carry out an idea, or crotchet if you will. A long course of severe study of the Scriptures in the lan-

guages in which they were written convinced Dr. Tischendorf that many serious errors had crept into the sacred text, owing to the fact of the original writings having been copied, recopied, and multiplied by hand during the centuries which elapsed previous to the invention of printing in the 15th century. In order to rectify these errors Dr. Tischendorf formed the design of revising and examining with the utmost possible care the most ancient manuscripts of the New Testament which were to be found in the libraries of Europe, and of collecting all the Greek manuscripts which could be obtained that were more than a thousand years old, and he extended his investigations to the Apocryphal books before mentioned, and, indeed, to any manuscript which could throw light directly or indirectly on the text of Scripture. He commenced his labours in 1839 with the New Testament, using such materials as he had access to in Germany, and in the autumn of 1840 he produced his first critical edition of it. But he had become convinced that much more was to be done by a fresh examination of the original documents existing in foreign countries, and he accordingly cast about for the means of carrying out his design. He obtained a hundred dollars from the Saxon government to defray his travelling expenses for one year, and a promise of another hundred for the next. With this paltry sum he went to Paris, having when he reached that city but fifty dollars left, and not sufficient means to purchase a proper travelling suit. In Paris he continued to support himself by his pen, while he devoted his spare time to the exploration of the valuable libraries of that great city.

It was in Paris that Dr. Tischendorf made his first grand discovery. In one of the libraries was a parchment Greek manuscript, the writing of which, of the date of the fifth century, had been retouched and renewed in the seventh and again in the ninth century. In the twelfth century this parchment had been washed and pumiced in order that some one might write on it a treatise of an old Father of the Church of the name of Ephraem. Five centuries later the Swiss theologian, Wetstein, had attempted to discipher a few traces of the original manuscript; and later still, another

theologian, Griesbach of Jena, came to try his skill on it, although the librarian assured him that it was impossible for mortal eye to rediscover a trace of the writing. The French government assisted him by having recourse to powerful chemicals in order to bring out the effaced characters. These attempts failed.

But in 1841 Dr. Tichendorf tried his hand at deciphering the manuscript and succeeded completely. This brought him into favourable notice; and the king of Saxony and several eminent patrons of learning at Frankfort, Geneva, Rome and Breslau, came forward with offers of assistance. He was thus enabled to visit the great libraries of England, Holland, Switzerland, and Italy, spending three years in his labour. In April, 1844, he pushed on to the East, and in the course of that year he visited Egypt and the Coptic convents, the convents of Mount Sinai, Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. Saba, Nazareth, Smyrna, Patmos, Beyrout, Constantinople, and Athens.

In the convent of St. Catharine, at the foot of Mount Sinai, he made the discovery which has made him famous. In the middle of the great hall of that convent he perceived a great basketful of old parchments, and the librarian told him that two heaps of similar parchments had already been committed to the flames. In this heap he found a considerable number of sheets of a copy of the Old Testament in Greek, and was allowed to take possession of about forty-five of them; but his eagerness to get possession of the rest aroused suspicions as to their value; so he was obliged to content himself with what he had got; and, having requested the monks to take care of the parchments, he returned to Germany with his treasure, which he deposited in the library of the University of Leipzig. In January, 1853, he returned to the Sinaitic convent and discovered more manuscripts. In 1856 he submitted to the emperor of Russia a plan for systematic researches in the East, and in 1858 that enlightened monarch placed the necessary funds at his disposal. In January, 1859, he again started for the East, and revisited the convent of Mount Sinai. There the steward of the convent privately showed him, not only the

fragments which fifteen years before had been taken by him out of the basket, but also other parts of the Old Testament, the New Testament complete, and, in addition, the Epistle of Barnabas, and a part of the Shepherd of Hermas.

It is to the labors and self-devotion of such men that we are indebted for much of the light thrown upon the Scriptures during the past hundred years. These German seekers after truth are content with their crust of bread and threadbare coat provided they have the range of some great library like the Imperial Library at Paris, or that of the British Museum, London. Perhaps, many a palimpsest is to be found in these great store houses of literature, which awaits the patient investigation of a Griesbach or Tischendorf to disclose to the eyes of an astonished and gratified world some such treasure as that of the Sinaitic manuscript. Surely those myriads of copies of the Scriptures and the classic authors, which the monks of the middle ages busied themselves in making for the benefit of posterity, cannot all have perished. Some of the "lost books" are still to be found somewhere!

One of the ablest of the works on the subject of Early Christian Literature which have appeared in our time is that of M. Ozanam, whose early death cut short the promise of the high rank to which he would doubtless have attained as a historian and a philosopher. He was born at Milan in 1813, and died in France in 1853, in the forty-first year of his age. Bred to the law, he preferred inculcating the science of jurisprudence, to the active practice of his profession. In politics he was a decided Liberal; in religion a fervent Catholic. His more important works were developed in lectures delivered at the Sorbonne, Paris, and his scheme was to embrace the history of civilization from the fall of the Roman Empire to the time of Dante. But he lived to complete only his review of the progress of the civilized world as far as the fifth century of the Christian era. In his *History of Civilization in the Fifth Century*, he analyzes in the most masterly manner the reciprocal influence of Christianity and Paganism upon each other, and points out the gradual process by which the salient points of the latter were absorbed into the former, until at last such vitality as there was or ever

had been in the ancient systems of religion was transferred to Christianity, and so Paganism died of inanition. Still the process was but slow, and had not been carried out even at so late a period as the sixth century. The literature of the time was mainly Pagan. Claudian, the poet, *par excellence*, of the fifth century, was firmly attached to the old cult; and his cotemporary, Rutilius Numentiames, openly abused Christian institutions. The Christian literature of the first centuries was strongly tinged with Pagan ideas, and with the reminiscences and influence of the glorious old literature of Greece and Rome: and, indeed, this may be said with still greater truth of the literature of the revival in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: nay, at this day, many of the most effective illustrations employed by our classical writers are borrowed from the ancient Heathen.

The charms of the old poetry caused many relapses to Paganism, and it was with the greatest difficulty that Christianity ultimately succeeded in making the literature of Europe her own. Even Jerome and Augustine, the two greatest pillars of the church, clung tenaciously to their early lore. Jerome made his monks copy "the Dialogues of Cicero," and carried a copy of Plato with him on a journey to Jerusalem. He taught grammar at Bethlehem, and expounded Virgil, and the lyric poets, with the ancient comic writers and historians, to those children who had been confided to him for training in Christianity. When he fled to the desert he carried his library with him, read Cicero while he fasted, and devoured Plautus while he bewailed his sins. Magnus, a rhetorician of Rome, reproached him for having filled his work with Pagan memories, and for being unable to write a letter without alluding to Cicero, Horace, and Virgil: to whom Jerome rereplied that he (Magnus) would never have applied such a reproach to him had he known the sacredness of antiquity: for St. Paul, pleading the cause of Christ before the Arcopagus, had not scrupled to use the inscription on a Pagan altar in defence of the faith, and to invoke the poet Aratus as a witness. Moreover, the austerity of his doctrine did not hinder the Apostle from citing Epimedes in his Epistle to Titus, (I. 12) and a verse from Menander in another place.

And Augustine in his retreat at Cassiciacum passed many months with his friends Trygetius and Licentius, devoting the mornings to the discussions of grave questions of philosophy, commenting on Cicero, and reading every day the half of one of Virgil's cantos. So the two great Christian poets of modern times, Dante and Milton, can scarcely write a stanza without some allusion to classic lore, some illustration borrowed from Paganism.

Perhaps one of the prime agents in Christianizing the literature of the middle ages was the composition of hymns in the Latin language, introducing therein the new feature of rhyme as an ornament to the verse. Under the influence of these compositions, which had become a necessity in the Christian Church, the old Roman tongue, which was in process of decline, put itself forth anew, budding and blossoming afresh, the meaning of words enlarging and dialating, old words coming to be used in new and higher significations, obsolete words reviving, new words being coined. The translation of the Old and the New Testaments into Latin by Jerome had a marked influence in this revival of the languages. Some of the early converts uttered their feelings in Latin poetry; several of these compositions were attributed to Tertullian and Cyprian. Commodianus wrote a poem against Paganism, and Prosper of Aquitaine wrote one against the Semi-Pelagians; Dracontius, Hilary, and Marius Victor turned their attention to the Bible narratives, while Juvencus and Sedulius confined theirs to evangelical history, and labored to reproduce with poetical adornment the text of the gospel.

Following their example the Anglo-Saxon priest Cædmon sang of the origin of the world, and the fall of man; and the monk Ottfried, in the time of Charlemagne, wrote a poem on the Harmony of the Gospels. Christian hymnody began in the days of the Apostles; both St. Paul and St. James exhort to the practice of singing hymns. In the time of Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, in the fifth century, music was definitely adopted in the church in Italy, and he is the reputed author of several chants and sacred songs. He used iambic verse of eight syllables, and thus paved the way for rhyme, which was early introduced into Christian versification.

Some of the earliest specimens of this occur in St. Augustine's psalm against the Donatists, and in the hymn addressed by Pope Damascus to St. Agatha. The great Christian poets of the age of Augustine were Paulinus and Prudentius. The former of these two repudiated the influence of the Pagan muses, and dropped Venus, Juno, and the other deities, substituting in their place the illustrious personages of Scripture. The latter boldly attacked the idolatrous practices and corrupt manners of the time, and became preëminently the poet of the Christians. Venantius Fortunatus, who flourished in the sixth century, was another of those Christian poets who laid the foundation of the noble Latin hymns of the middle ages, the productions of Adam of St. Victor Pistor, Peter the Venerable, Alanus, Hildebert, Manburn, St. Bernard, Bonaventura, Bede, Alard, Abelard, Bable, Thomas-à-Kempis, Bernard of Clugny, and others. Mr. French has given an admirable selection of these in his *Sacred Latin Poetry;* some of them almost equal in beauty and sublimity to the well known *Dies Iræ* and *Stabat Mater*. In short the range of the early literature of the Christian Church is vast and varied, full of instruction and of the noblest sentiments of piety and humanity.

ART. III.—1. *The Works of Robert Burns, with an Account of his Life and a Criticism on his Writings.* London.

2. *The Life of Robert Burns.* By J. G. LOCKHART, Edinburgh.

THE most striking characteristic of genius is what seems its daring; it is ever marking out new paths and discovering countries whose existence was previously unthought of, or denied. It is continually undertaking Argonautic expeditions in search of the golden fleece of perfection, and though its ultimate object be not attained, it constantly gives new impulses to the spirit of enterprise in exploring unknown regions of truth. If the possessor of genius should ask,

"Do we move ourselves, or are we moved by an unseen hand at a game?" the answer would doubtless be a repetition of the latter clause of the proposition. Genius is itself an impelling power which possesses the individual as Apollo inspired the Sibyl:

> "Struggling in vain, impatient of her load,
> And laboring underneath the pond'rous god,
> The more she strove to shake him from her breast,
> With more and far superior force he press'd;
> Commands his entrance, and without control,
> Usurps her organs, and inspires her soul."

The person designated to be the mouth-piece of the oracle may, like the prophet Jonah, flee to Tarshish to avoid doing his work, yet everywhere his destiny pursues him, and sooner or later he is forced, cheerfully or reluctantly, to speak the word, or to do the deed assigned to him for his task in this life.

In the majority of cases, the possessor of genius is long ignorant of the work he has to do. He feels an impulsion to do something, and his restless soul struggles in vain for peace. With the poet this restlessness seeks utterance in words, and he finds that expression sooths him. Yet at the first this utterance is feeble and unsatisfactory, and his spirit drives him on to attain greater excellence. Absolute or even satisfactory expression is unattainable, hence his life is a continual struggle. If he gives himself up to the control of this power, as much happiness as is vouchsafed to mortals is within his reach. But, too often, finding the chain galling and the lash torturing that urges him on for his own and others' good, the slave of genius, not perceiving the glorious end, gives himself up to darker passions, whose mastery seems at first more pleasurable, but which conduct his steps to the gulf of despair.

In the streets of Edinburgh, a boy—afterwards a distinguished man—wearied with wandering and sight-seeing in the strange city, has paused to rest. A man passes, something in whose appearance strikes him. He gazes after him almost unconsciously, fascinated with the magnetism of genius, communicated by the outer semblance and bearing

of the passer-by. The veil of mystery is suddenly lifted, and the shadowy wonderland into which his rapt soul is gazing is peopled with well-known forms by the voice of a man near him who, observing his occupation, exclaims, "Eh, laddie! you may well look at that man; that's Bob Burns!"

Admiringly, lovingly, compassionately, let us, with the awe-struck boy, look at this man, for it is well worth our while. Let us follow, and learn more of him. Next we find him, we will say, in a fashionable drawing-room, the resort of persons most distinguished in literature, in the learned professions, and for the station which wealth and hereditary gentility confer at this time and place. Burns has but lately entered this circle to which his recently-discovered talents have been his only card of admission. Lacking the prestige of rank, fortune, or conventional education, being only an "Ayrshire ploughman," his reception is an anomaly. The admiration which his writings have excited is intensified by his manly independence, tempered with modesty, and his wonderful conversational powers. We find him "the observed of all observers" in that brilliant and proud circle—say in the *salon* of the beautiful, witty, and accomplished Duchess of Gordon. High-born and lovely ladies press around him to enjoy the scintillations of his wit, humor, and pathos, flashes of the most vivid imagination —those conversational excellencies which his hostess declares "carried her completely off her feet." All who listen are charmed, astonished by the brilliancy of his genius, and regard him as a prodigy. We might follow him on one of his stealthy visits to the home of "Clarinda" and behold him in his best, tenderest, most soul-awakening mood; but that privacy is too sacred for our intrusion. The attentions which he everywhere receives, Dugald Stewart says, "were such as would have turned any head but his own."

This man, Robert Burns, is a newly-discovered poet, and discovered amid surroundings where one would have least thought of searching for such a jewel. He has jumped at once to an enviable position as a man of acknowledged genius and attained a fame that will never die. And this elevation he has reached, it would seem, by a single bound from

his beloved family, and he had no prospects for a better future. His farming speculation proved ruinous; he missed his hopes of promotion in the excise, and had nearly lost his place by too freely expressing his sympathies with aspiring humanity. His letter upon this subject to Mr. Graham is a noble composition—superior even to Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle to Chesterfield.

Sorrows thickening about the poet, yet his lyre still gave forth the sweetest strains. After a night of dissipation he writes to a friend: "There is none to pity me. My wife scolds me; my business torments me, and my sins come staring me in the face, every one telling a more bitter tale than his fellow." He suffered as he says in his "Letter from Hell," "Regret! Remorse! Shame!" He also suffered from neglect, and almost from scorn, as witness the scene at Dumfries, recorded by Lockhart, where he would not presume to cross the street to join the gay throng on the opposite side.

Towards the close of his life he writes: "I have lately drunk deep of the cup of affliction. The autumn robbed me of my only daughter, my darling child, and that at a distance too, and so rapidly as to put it out of my power to pay the last duties to her. I had scarcely begun to recover from that shock, when I became myself the victim of a most severe rheumatic fever, and long the die spun doubtful." And again, near the close: "Rackt as I am with rheumatism, I meet every face with a greeting like that of Balak to Balaam—'Come, curse me Jacob, and come defy me Israel!' So say I—come, curse me that east wind, and come defy me the north!"

To Mrs. Dunlop, he writes: "An illness which has long hung about me, in all probability will speedily send me beyond that bourne whence no traveller returns. Your friendship, with which you for so many years honored me, was friendship dearest to my soul. Your conversation, and especially your correspondence, were at once highly pleasing and instructive. With what pleasure did I use to break up the seal! The remembrance yet adds one pulse more to my poor palpitating heart. Farewell!!!" And to another

friend, "Alas, Clarke! I begin to fear the worst. As to my individual self, I am tranquil, and would despise myself if I were not; but Burns' poor widow, and half-a-dozen of his dear little ones, helpless orphans!—There I am weak as a woman's tear. Enough of this—'tis half of my disease!" And to his father-in-law, on his death-bed: "Do for heaven's sake send Mrs. Armour here immediately. My wife is hourly expected to be put to bed. My God! What a situation for her to be in, poor girl, without a friend! I returned from sea-bathing quarters to-day, and my medical friends would almost persuade me that I am better, but I think and feel that my strength is so gone that the disorder will prove fatal to me."

"O death! the poor man's dearest friend,
The kindest and the best!"

In this cruel manner didst thou perform for him who thus lovingly invoked thee, thy friendly office! Burns died at the age of thirty-eight years, of a most excruciating disease, in almost abject poverty, in neglect, and tortured with anxiety for those he loved. Is there "among all the martyrologies that ever were penned so rueful a narrative" as the life of this poet? Possibly, for Burns is not the only true poet who has lived, or from whose suffering soul have been evoked strains that have delighted mankind. What consolation had Burns in his extremity? Did he perceive the undying fame that was to hallow his name for all time, and the deep sympathy which all true souls were to feel for his sufferings? There is no doubt that he did to a great extent.

Burns' claims as a poet have been thoroughly canvassed by the ablest minds, and it was no part of the design of the present article to enter into an elaborate criticism of his writings. We may say that as a poet he is thoroughly good *within his proper limits*, so far as he is natural, which he generally is. Nothing fictitious is true poetry, however much that declaration may contradict prevalent opinions. All genuine poetry comes from the heart, and is the record of the writer's own experience, however it may be cast into the mould of fiction as regards external forms. The incidents may be unreal, yet they are such as to excite and to express

the author's genuine feelings, and are, so far as the sentiments are concerned, taken from the volume of his own life. Thus the spirit which animates the whole is that of truth, and the ability to record this reality in a pleasing manner indicates the poet. Burns was not an elaborate artist. We may, perhaps, justly reëcho his own lines expressing his estimate of his abilities at one period—

> "There's ither poets much your betters
> Far seen in Greek, deep men o' letters,
> Hae thought they had ensured their debtors
> A' future ages;
> Now moths deform in shapeless tatters
> Their unknown pages."

It is the glory of the man that he correctly estimated his own abilities and, though often urged to do so, would not undertake elaborate works for which he knew he was not fitted. Here, too, is the secret of his success; he did not attempt what he could not do, but was content to do his humbler work well. This is the especial charm of the greater portion of his writings: we see in them the man in his own proper sphere—the ploughman in the field, by the fireside, among boon companions, engaged in a rustic amour, contemplating a mouse or a daisy, loving, sinning, suffering, and giving vent to his feelings in his own homely and artless language. If the untaught countryman is invited to visit with the great and the refined, he does not attempt to ape their manners, or to rival their elegance. He never aspires to be a fine gentleman, or to be anything but what he is. As a man Burns was great. His sphere was not a high one, but he greatly did what was given him to do—except where he gave way to temptation—and was content to be what he was. His motto was,

> "Act well your part; there all the honor lies."

For acting his part so well as he did, nothwithstanding all the discouragements he met, he deserves our warmest praise and gratitude. The success which he achieved by being thus true to himself is a most valuable example to mankind.

Had Burns, in his great sorrows, the consolation of a hopeful religion? He was by no means destitute of true religious

sentiments. He detested the narrow orthodoxy of the religionists with whom he was most acquainted, but he replaced their superstitious tenets with a more ennobling charity. He could not believe in a deity who was characterized as the fountain of mercy, and who yet predestines his creatures to eternal torment. He was confident that, notwithstanding his errors, he could with trust repose upon

"The bosom of his Father and his God."

These lines express that hopeful trust and confidence—

"Where with intention I have erred
No other plea I have
But thou art good; and goodness still
Delighteth to forgive."

His religion was not of a highly spiritual character. As he loved his fellows and could not harbor a malignant thought, he believed that much more the pure and all powerful Deity must look with compassion rather than anger upon the frailties of weak and suffering mortals. He esteemed the God of his worship as he would estimate a good man.

"The heart benevolent and kind
The most resembles God."

Hating hypocrisy and superstition, he yet reverenced the religious observances with which he was familiar, and ever speaks of genuine piety with veneration. His conduct in several situations in life—especially in relation to his marriage—could only have been dictated by conscientious considerations having their origin in religious convictions.

Were there such compensations in the life of Burns that he received a measure of happiness equal to the average of mankind? This question opens a field of inquiry and speculation into which few dare to venture, and fewer still, perhaps, who have answered such questions for themselves would care to give their thoughts to the world. We can only say that we believe the soul to be immortal; that God is just; that this life is but a day in the cycle of eternity, and that death is but an act-drop for the drama of existence which shall continue forever.

ART. IV.—1. *Herschel's Treatise on Sound.* Encyclopedia Metropolitana.

2. *Bartlett's Acoustics.* New York.

THE sense of hearing, though of less importance than that of sight, ranks high as a means of acquiring knowledge and avoiding danger. It is by habit that we obtain the power of distinguishing places and things by sound, a capability that belongs no less to the brute than to man. Indeed, some animals seem to rely wholly on their sense of hearing to distinguish the presence of objects. Dr. J. K. Mitchell found the bat to fly as well, and to avoid danger as readily, with its eyes put out, as when it had the use of them; but after having its sense of hearing destroyed it could no longer tell whither it was flying so as to avoid an object or to strike it.

This power, then, which men and animals possess of distinguishing objects by the sound which they make, is no mean acquisition to beings of locomotion that, in consequence of this ability to move, have many more chances of destruction or injury than such as are confined to one spot. It is a matter of observation that the acuteness of our senses is directly proportional to our wants under certain circumstances, either for the purpose of avoiding danger or acquiring knowledge.

This power of cultivation is not limited to man; the brute possesses it also. Some animals possess by nature senses extraordinarily acute, either on the one hand, for avoiding their enemies, or for pursuing their prey. It is altogether inconceivable to us how the dog can follow his master's track from the scent which he leaves through the sole of his boot. We believe, however, that cultivation will make man's senses nearly as acute as those of any animal. We are acquainted with a little girl who depends on her sense of smell to distinguish the quality of anything. It is said that "Mr. James Gardner, the geographer, can rule blindfolded or in the dark, with the natural angle of a diamond on

hard white metal, fifty-one lines in the fiftieth part of an inch, and cross them at the same distances with an additional line each way to complete the number of squares."* The sight, though generally the most useful, is comparatively limited. The unaided eye could not distinguish the squares which Mr. Gardner was able to make (6,502,500) by the sense of feeling, in a space of an inch square. In the case of the approach of death in the ordinary course of nature, the sense of hearing remains acute long after the eye fails to perceive things.

For the production of sound three things are necessary: a sounding body, an organ of hearing, and a medium by which the sound may be transmitted from the one to the other. The atmosphere is the ordinary but not the only conductor of sound. The various gases, liquids and solids, all conduct sound with greater or less facility. It was discovered by Hauksber that in a vacuum no perceptible sound could be produced. When a bell is suitably arranged for sounding, under the receiver of an air-pump, it is found that the sound becomes less and less audible as the exhaustion goes on, until at length it ceases altogether to be heard.

It is related by M. Saussure and others, that the firing of a pistol on the summit of Mont Blanc made no louder report than the noise of an ordinary Chinese cracker at the base. This diminution of sound at great heights has usually been attributed to the smaller density of the air. It is a known fact that air under greater pressure conveys sound with increased intensity, so that a whisper in a diving-bell, when sunk to a considerable depth, becoms painfully loud.

The above statement of Saussure, however, does not seem to be confirmed. M. Martins made various experiments with a view of determining the intensity of sound in rarified air. He proved that it depends on the density of the air at the place of the primitive disturbances, and not on that of the strata traversed by it, nor on that of the air surrounding the hearer. This was proved in the course of experiments made with two mortars of the

* Mudie's Popular Guide to the Study of Nature, pp. 16, 17.

same fount, upon the velocity of sound ascending and descending. One mortar was placed upon the summit of a mountain, and the other below. At an altitude of 2,682 metres it was found that, with the same charge, the sound was much weaker than that produced 1,117 metres lower. On the top of Mont Blanc, in the same situation in which Saussure made the observation before quoted, and where, he said, he could scarcely hear the popping of a bottle of champagne, M. Martins found that he could distinguish the voices of the guides in conversation at the distance of 400 metres, or nearly a quarter of a mile, and the tapping of a pencil upon a metalic surface at the distance of fifteen to twenty paces.

In order to arrive at something more positive in regard to this matter, M. Martins constructed a diapason so arranged as to give 512 vibrations of sound in a second, thus giving a constant and continuous sound. With a sound having always the same intensity in air of equal density, it is evident that the variable distance at which it ceases to be perceptible in mediums of different densities, will afford a proper measure of the variations of this intensity. Owing to the agitations of the atmosphere, however, these experiments become complicated. In 1814 it was ascertained by M. Holdat and De la Roche, that wind, blowing from the origin of a sound, increased the limit of distance to which it may be heard, and wind blowing in the opposite direction diminished it. Both agree that it can be heard, other things being equal, at the greatest possible distance in air at rest, the noise from the wind, under any circumstances, interfering with the perception of sound. This accords with common experience.

Experiments made with the diapason on a desert plain, in a calm day, gave 254 metres as the limit of sound. The same experiment repeated at 11 o'clock at night under nearly the same circumstances, gave 379 metres as the limit of sound. At 8600feet abovethe levelof the sea similar experiments gave 550 metres as the limit of sound; and at the height of 2,800 feet the limit was 337 metres. We thus see that sound was heard at an elevation of little more than a

mile and a half at double the distance of that at the ordinary surface level, and that the universal stillness observed at great heights seems rather to be owing to the absence of sound-producing causes than to the impossibility of its being heard. These experiments, however, do not really contradict the observations of travellers who have been struck with the weakening of sound at great altitudes. "In fact these travellers having ascended suddenly from the plain upon the mountain, their organs, and particularly those of hearing, have not had time to put themselves in equilibrium with the ambient air."

M. Martins did not make his experiments till after several days' sojourn at the elevations cited, and when his organs of hearing had adapted themselves to the rarer medium. The inhabitants of very elevated region of country, especially in tropical America, do not suffer from the effects of a rarified medium, owing to the power of adaptation of the human system, which enables man to live without inconvenience under conditions that could scarcely be endured if he were suddenly introduced into them. "There are causes, however," observes M. Martins, "which favor the hearing of sound on high mountains, that more than compensate the rarefaction of the air." Among these causes silence holds the first rank. On the grand plateau of Mont Blanc "there is a repose only broken by the noise of wind or thunder. In calm weather the silence is so profound that sounds are heard at a great distance, although their intensity is much less than in the low country." Other causes exist, such as the nature and configuration of the soil, the hygrometric state of the air, and the absence or presence of "aërial currents."*

The fact that sounds can be heard farther at night than in the daytime early attracted attention. Humbold's attention was called to it by noticing that the noise made by the rush of the cataracts or the Orinoco, in the plain surrounding the Missions of Atures, is three times as loud by night as by day.† This is partly owing to the cessation of the noises

* Annual of Ser. Discovery for 1852, pp. 151-2. † Travels in Equin. Regions, p. 211.

of the day, and partly to the condition of the atmosphere, which is more homogeneous in the night when the action of the sun's rays ceases to influence its density. In the day-time, on the contrary, the density is continually changing from variations of temperature. "It is obvious," says Sir John Herschel, "that sound as well as light must be obstructed, stifled, and dissipated from its original direction by the mixture of air of different temperatures, and consequently elasticities; and thus the same cause which produces that extreme transparency of the air at night, which astronomers alone fully appreciate, renders it also more favorable to sound. There is no doubt, however, that the universal and dead silence, generally prevalent at night, renders our auditory nerves sensible to impressions which would otherwise escape notice. The analogy between sound and light is perfect in this as in many other respects. In the general light of day the stars disappear. In the continual hum of voices, which is always going on by day, and which reaches us from all quarters and never leaves the ear time to attain complete tranquility, those feeble sounds which catch our attention at night make no impression. The ear, like the eye, requires long and perfect repose to attain its utmost sensibility."*

Sound can be heard at a greater distance across a level plain than over an uneven surface, and is transmitted with great facility over the surface of water or ice. Lieutenant Foster was able to carry on a conversation across Fort Bowen harbor, when frozen, a distance of a mile and a half.† Captain Parry tells us that in the polar regions a conversation can be carried on between two persons a mile apart. When the air is calm and dry the report of a musket is audible at 8000 paces; the marching of a company on a still night may be heard at from 580 to 830 paces off; a squadron of cavalry at foot pace 750 paces; trotting or galloping at 1080 paces; heavy artillery at foot pace 660 paces; and if at a trot or gallop, at 1000 paces distant. A powerful human voice can be heard in the open air, under ordinary

* Treatise on Sound, Ency. Metrop. † Somerville's Phys. Science, p. 130.

circumstances, at the distance of 230 paces.* We have heard, however, a human voice at a much greater distance than this, at least a quarter of a mile.

The greatest known distance to which sound has been carried through the air is 345 miles, when the explosions of the volcano at St. Vincent's were heard at Demarara. Sound is conveyed through the earth, however, to a much greater distance. It is said that the cannonading of the citadel of Antwerp, in 1832, was heard in the mines of Saxony, a distance of 370 miles; and explosions of the volcano in the island of Sumbawa, one of the Molucca groups, during the eruption in 1815, was heard in Sumatra, 970 geographical miles distant in one direction, and at Jarnate in the opposite direction, 720 miles distant.† Musical sounds of the same loudness can be heard at a greater distance than others. The mother who calls her child begins an octave lower than she ends, and she thus makes him hear when perhaps he otherwise would not. It is well known that music across water can be heard at a great distance.

The velocity of sound through the atmosphere, or any other medium, can be measured or calculated. Sir Isaac Newton found by calculation that the velocity of sound in the air is 979 feet in a second; and after allowing for some peculiar atmospheric constitution which he supposed to exist, he made it 1142 feet.‡ This last is the velocity found by Dorham from his celebrated experiments made in London in 1708.§

For several years there was a large unexplained difference between the calculated velocity of sound and that actually observed. The most accurate computations gave very nearly 916 feet for the distance which sound travels in a second at the temperature of a freezing point. The most accurate experiments give about 1090 for the velocity of sound in the atmosphere at the same temperature. The difference, which is 174 feet, was at length explained by Laplace by referring it to the heat developed in the atmosphere by the transmis-

*Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 67.
†Hitchcock's Geology, p. 237.
‡Principia, p. 369.
§Olmstead's Philosophy, p. 286.

sion of sound. Nearly 200 degrees of heat are thus developed by the mechanical action of the sound-waves.

Other gases than atmospheric air conduct sound with greater or less facility. Solids and liquids conduct it with much greater velocity than air. According to the experiments of M. Colladon, in 1826, sound travels through water at the rate of 4707 feet in a second, which is only ten feet more than the calculated velocity; so that but little heat is developed by water in transmitting sound. In his experiments M. Colladon used the bell as a sounding body, which was struck about three feet below the surface of the water, and he was enabled to hear it across the width of the Lake of Geneva, a distance of about nine miles.* The sound-wave passes through iron at the rate of about 17,000 feet in a second, and the various species of wood range from 11,000 to 17,000 feet. If an iron rod connected the moon to the earth it would require about two days and a half for the effect of a force applied at one end to reach the other.

The successive transmission of sound gives rise to some curious phenomena. Two persons placed at unequal distances from the source of sound cannot hear it at the same time. It is on account of this principle that in long ranks of soldiers where two bands of music are placed at a considerable distance from each other, it is impossible for the two bands to agree in keeping time. It is often noticed "that if from an eminence we look upon a long column which is marching to a band of music in front, the various ranks do not step exactly together. Those in the rear are in each step a little later than those before them. This produces a sort of undulation in the whole column, which it is difficult to describe, but which all who have noticed it well understand."† This is owing to the fact that all do not hear the music when it is made, but after the lapse of a time sufficient for sound to pass the interval between the music and the soldier, at the rate of 1125 a second, the velocity of sound at the ordinary temperature.

Two sounds may be so related to each other that they

*Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 42.

†Chamber's Information for the People, Vol. I, p. 210.

produce silence. This is caused by the interference of the sound-waves. If we throw two stones into the water near each other, there will be seen a line where the waves meet in such a way as to destroy one another, along which the water will be calm. Sound-waves may produce similar effects, and at such points no sound can be heard. Sound-waves may partly destroy one another, and very much weaken the sound; or they may operate together and increase the sound. Mixed gases, owing to the different lengths of the waves in each, may be bad conductors of sound. The gases, however, which compose atmospheric air, are so related as to produce no such effect.

An echo is one of the most interesting phenomena in acoustics. It is produced by the reflection of the sound-waves, as waves in water are reflected from smooth surfaces. A rough surface is a bad reflector of sound, as of light, because the irregularities reflect it in so many different directions, that the various waves interfere with one another. The velocity of reflected sound-waves is the same as that of direct, so that we can easily determine the time required for an echo to reach us, when we originate the sound, by considering that the sound has to pass over twice the distance between us and the reflecting surface at the rate of 1,125 feet a second. The number of syllables that we can hear distinctly echoed will depend on the rapidity with which we pronounce them, and the distance of the reflecting surface. If the reflecting surface be near, the echo and the direct sound will reach us so nearly together that the former will strengthen the latter. There is a limit to this, however, and it is evident that a speaking hall should be constructed in accordance with this principle. In large rooms used for speaking purposes, all echoes which can accompany the voice of the speaker, syllable by syllable, are useful for increasing the volume of sound; but all that reach the hearers sensibly later only tend to produce confusion. Professor Henry found by experiment that if a sound and its echo reach the ear within from one-fifteenth to one-twentieth of a second, depending upon the nature of the sound, they seem as one. This is called the limit of perceptibility. This gives

us for the distance of the reflecting surface from thirty to forty feet.*

If we take the mean of these numbers as the usual limit, we see that if a lecture hall have its walls farther from the speaker than thirty-five feet, some arrangement must be made to prevent the echo from interfering with the distinctness of the direct sound. Those who are within thirty-five feet of the echoing surface will hear the speaker more distinctly than without its effect; but others will find it a disadvantage. Distant walls should be broken up into small portions, presenting surfaces in different directions. This may be effected in various ways. There may be a gallery with the seats and the floor rising rapidly behind one another, so that much of the sound which would otherwise reach the remote wall, will be caught directly by the hearers. "Especially should no large and distant surfaces be *parallel* to nearer ones, since it is between parallel walls that prolonged reverberation occurs."

Walls intended to aid a speaker by their echoes should be smooth, but not too solid. It is found that plaster on lath is better than plaster on brick or stone; the first echo is louder and the reverberations less. Drapery behind a speaker deprives him of just so much echoing surface. A lecturing hall is improved by causing the wall behind the speaker to change its direction to the right and left of the speaker, at a very obtuse angle, so as to exclude the rectangular corners from the room. The voice is in this way reinforced by reflection, and the resonance arising from parallel walls is in a measure avoided. The ceiling should not be too high; and concave surfaces, generally, should be avoided. "An equal diffusion of sound throughout the apartment, not concentration of it to particular points, is the object to be sought in the arrangement of its parts."†

In Chamber's "Information for the People,"‡ it is said that "the best known form of apartment for the proper distribution of sound, is that in which the length is from

*An. Sci. Dis. for 1852, pp. 153-4.

† See a paper on "Acoustics applied to Public Buildings, by Professor Joseph Henry, in the Proceedings of the An. Assoc., Albany, 1856.

‡ Vol. i., p. 210.

a third to a half more than the breadth, the height somewhat greater than the breadth, and having a roof bevelled off all round the sides. This species of ceiling, called, technically, a coved or *coach roof*, from its being lower at the sides than centre, is in all cases best suited for conveying sounds clearly to the ears of auditors."

The principles of acoustics are well understood, but they are too seldom applied to the construction of speaking rooms. In many instances costly assembly halls and churches are very defective in regard to public speaking. The fancy of the architect seems rather to be consulted in their construction, than scientific principles. "The subject urgently demands consideration in connection with architecture."*

Reflecting surfaces may be so related to one another as to cause multiple echoes. At Srevley-Fels, on the Rhine, is a position in which a sound is repeated by echo, seventeen times. At the Villa Sinsonetta, near Milan, is another where it is repeated thirty times.† In Woodstock Park there is an echo which repeats seventeen syllables by day and twenty-eight by night. Sir John Herschel mentions an echo in the Manfroni palace at Venice, where a person standing in the centre of a square room, about twenty-five feet high, with a concave roof, hears the stamp of his feet repeated a great many times, but as his position deviates from the centre the echoes become feebler and at a short distance they entirely cease.‡

If a sound be made in one focus of an ellipsoidal surface, it will be reflected to the other focus. Whispering galleries are constructed upon this principle. The ear of Dionysius is celebrated in ancient history. It was a grotto cut out of the solid rock at Syracuse, in which a person placed at one point could hear every word, however faintly uttered, in the grotto.

Lastly, we may refer to the *moral* effect of sounds, especially very loud sounds. The red man hears the voice of the Great Spirit speaking from out the cloud when it thunders;

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* Chamber's Encyclopædia, vol. i, p. 32.
† Bartlett's Acoustics, p. 89.
‡ Brewster's Natural Magic, p. 205.

and a similar feeling, mingled with some fear, has a tendency to prevent man from wrong doing when the thunder roars, or when he hears such subterraneous sounds as accompany earthquakes.

ART. V.—1. *Report: Orange Lodges, Associations or Societies in Ireland.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, July, 1835.

2. *Report: Orange Institutions in Great Britain and the Colonies.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, September, 1835.

3. *Reports from the Select Committees appointed to inquire into the nature, character, extent, and tendency of Orange Lodges, Associations, or Societies in Ireland, with the Minutes of evidence, Appendix and Index.* Ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 1835.

4. *Mr. Hume's Speech in the House of Commons, Feb.* 23, 1836.

5. *Battle of Magheramayo.* Newry: James Henderson, 1849.

6. *Mr. Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, on the occurrences which took place in the District of Castlewellen, on the occasion of an Orange Procession, on the 12th of July,* 1849. Dublin Evening Post, 17th October, 1849.

A LARGE proportion of those who inflict the most serious injuries on their neighbors do so under the impression that they are doing right; hundreds are guilty of conduct as members of a faction or society from which they would shrink with horror as individuals. The moralist as well as the philosopher should take this into account in estimating the amount of violence or depravity manifested in any particular community. Even those who are injured are bound to take into consideration the motives of their assailants. It is true that if one's leg or arm is broken, or his house burned, his pain or loss is not diminished by learning that his assailant was prompted by erroneous motives. Nevertheless no

one who reflects entertains the same feeling towards those who injure him through ignorance, under the impression that they are serving a good cause, which he does towards those who are actuated by personal malice or avarice. In this point of view ignorance is little better than insanity; the wisest of the ancients made but little distinction between the two conditions of the mind; and what great difference can be made at the present day between an ignorant man who is highly excited—especially if excited by fanaticism, a partisan spirit, and, perhaps, intoxicating drink—and a maniac? The principal difference is that while the law holds the former responsible for his conduct, it expressly exempts the latter from punishment.

In making this comparison in allusion to the conduct of the Orangemen of Ireland we do not mean to make any attack on that body. We have no grudge to gratify against them; they have never disobliged us personally in any manner; on the contrary we cheerfully acknowledge that we have experienced much friendship from individual Orangemen, while we made no effort to conceal our dislike of a society which had contributed so much to the ruin of Ireland. Often we have reasoned with Orangemen in a public journal published in one of their own strongholds, endeavoring to induce them to reflect on their conduct and make themselves acquainted, at least in part, with the history of those in whose name, or in commemoration of whom they committed such deplorable excesses. Nor do we mean to pursue any more unfriendly course in this article; at the same time we shall not shrink from presenting the facts to our readers.

Our object in taking up the subject at the present day is two fold: the American people have but little idea of the real character of the Orange Society; and this little is by no means correct. It is but natural that Protestants should think that when other Protestants have had conflicts with Catholics as such, the latter, and not the former, must be the party to blame; but in this instance at least the reverse is the case. That the lower order of the Catholics of Ireland often commit excesses, far be it from us

his beloved family, and he had no prospects for a better future. His farming speculation proved ruinous; he missed his hopes of promotion in the excise, and had nearly lost his place by too freely expressing his sympathies with aspiring humanity. His letter upon this subject to Mr. Graham is a noble composition—superior even to Dr. Johnson's celebrated epistle to Chesterfield.

Sorrows thickening about the poet, yet his lyre still gave forth the sweetest strains. After a night of dissipation he writes to a friend: "There is none to pity me. My wife scolds me; my business torments me, and my sins come staring me in the face, every one telling a more bitter tale than his fellow." He suffered as he says in his "Letter from Hell," "Regret! Remorse! Shame!" He also suffered from neglect, and almost from scorn, as witness the scene at Dumfries, recorded by Lockhart, where he would not presume to cross the street to join the gay throng on the opposite side.

Towards the close of his life he writes: "I have lately drunk deep of the cup of affliction. The autumn robbed me of my only daughter, my darling child, and that at a distance too, and so rapidly as to put it out of my power to pay the last duties to her. I had scarcely begun to recover from that shock, when I became myself the victim of a most severe rheumatic fever, and long the die spun doubtful." And again, near the close: "Rackt as I am with rheumatism, I meet every face with a greeting like that of Balak to Balaam—'Come, curse me Jacob, and come defy me Israel!' So say I—come, curse me that east wind, and come defy me the north!"

To Mrs. Dunlop, he writes: "An illness which has long hung about me, in all probability will speedily send me beyond that bourne whence no traveller returns. Your friendship, with which you for so many years honored me, was friendship dearest to my soul. Your conversation, and especially your correspondence, were at once highly pleasing and instructive. With what pleasure did I use to break up the seal! The remembrance yet adds one pulse more to my poor palpitating heart. Farewell!!!" And to another

Ireland, it becomes ten times more absurd when sought to be transplanted in America; and its influence can scarcely be less pernicious in the New World than it has been in the Old. This will be the more readily admitted if it be borne in mind that the most bloody and disgraceful riots which have taken place on our railroads in different parts of the country have been excited by the dæmon of Orangeism—between "Fardowners" and "Corkonians;" the former representing the Orangemen of the North, the latter the Catholics of the South. But Orangeism has not merely caused these internecine feuds in the United States; it has also caused the burning of Catholic churches, from time to time, in different parts of the country. In short, at no time during the last twenty years has the Orange spirit found vent in Ireland, but its baneful influence has been felt to a greater or less extent in this country.

Now, before we place before our readers some of the doings of the Orangemen in Ireland, let us pause for a moment to see what was the origin of the system. Every student of English history is aware that next to Cromwell, William III., called the Prince of Orange, was, of all the more recent rulers of England the most ruthless oppressor of Ireland. This sovereign maintained a large fleet on the coast of Ireland for the purpose of seizing as pirates all vessels attempting to trade with that country. Irishmen charged with political offences in his time had no mercy to hope for; even Cromwell did not give so much work to the hangman in Ireland, or so little trouble to judge or jury. The moment any Catholic charged with a serious offence by a "loyalist" was arrested he might calculate that his doom was sealed. His trial was a mere matter of form; the gallows was already prepared for him!

Nor was it alone the Irish Catholics whom the Prince of Orange treated in this summary manner. His treatment of the Scottish Highlanders was still more ferocious and cruel. In proof of this it is almost sufficient to mention the massacre of Glencoe. Even Macaulay who has sought to make a hero of William could not deny that he deliberately signed the death-warrant of a whole tribe. In the annals of Pagan bar-

the author's genuine feelings, and are, so far as the sentiments are concerned, taken from the volume of his own life. Thus the spirit which animates the whole is that of truth, and the ability to record this reality in a pleasing manner indicates the poet. Burns was not an elaborate artist. We may, perhaps, justly reëcho his own lines expressing his estimate of his abilities at one period—

> "There's ither poets much your betters
> Far seen in Greek, deep men o' letters,
> Hae thought they had ensured their debtors
> A' future ages;
> Now moths deform in shapeless tatters
> Their unknown pages."

It is the glory of the man that he correctly estimated his own abilities and, though often urged to do so, would not undertake elaborate works for which he knew he was not fitted. Here, too, is the secret of his success; he did not attempt what he could not do, but was content to do his humbler work well. This is the especial charm of the greater portion of his writings: we see in them the man in his own proper sphere—the ploughman in the field, by the fireside, among boon companions, engaged in a rustic amour, contemplating a mouse or a daisy, loving, sinning, suffering, and giving vent to his feelings in his own homely and artless language. If the untaught countryman is invited to visit with the great and the refined, he does not attempt to ape their manners, or to rival their elegance. He never aspires to be a fine gentleman, or to be anything but what he is. As a man Burns was great. His sphere was not a high one, but he greatly did what was given him to do—except where he gave way to temptation—and was content to be what he was. His motto was,

> "Act well your part; there all the honor lies."

For acting his part so well as he did, nothwithstanding all the discouragements he met, he deserves our warmest praise and gratitude. The success which he achieved by being thus true to himself is a most valuable example to mankind.

Had Burns, in his great sorrows, the consolation of a hopeful religion? He was by no means destitute of true religious

sentiments. He detested the narrow orthodoxy of the religionists with whom he was most acquainted, but he replaced their superstitious tenets with a more ennobling charity. He could not believe in a deity who was characterized as the fountain of mercy, and who yet predestines his creatures to eternal torment. He was confident that, notwithstanding his errors, he could with trust repose upon

"The bosom of his Father and his God."

These lines express that hopeful trust and confidence—

"Where with intention I have erred
No other plea I have
But thou art good; and goodness still
Delighteth to forgive."

His religion was not of a highly spiritual character. As he loved his fellows and could not harbor a malignant thought, he believed that much more the pure and all powerful Deity must look with compassion rather than anger upon the frailties of weak and suffering mortals. He esteemed the God of his worship as he would estimate a good man.

"The heart benevolent and kind
The most resembles God."

Hating hypocrisy and superstition, he yet reverenced the religious observances with which he was familiar, and ever speaks of genuine piety with veneration. His conduct in several situations in life—especially in relation to his marriage—could only have been dictated by conscientious considerations having their origin in religious convictions.

Were there such compensations in the life of Burns that he received a measure of happiness equal to the average of mankind? This question opens a field of inquiry and speculation into which few dare to venture, and fewer still, perhaps, who have answered such questions for themselves would care to give their thoughts to the world. We can only say that we believe the soul to be immortal; that God is just; that this life is but a day in the cycle of eternity, and that death is but an act-drop for the drama of existence which shall continue forever.

der of the scholar, author and statesman, John De Witt, his tutor and friend, and also that of his brother, Corneille DeWitt.* The brothers DeWitt being the last supporters of the republic were put out of the way very much in the Glencoe style; yet the person charged with having planned so base a crime—a crime certainly equal in turpitude to that of Nero in causing the death of Seneca—becomes the deity of the Orangemen of Ireland—"William of glorious, pious and immortal memory." He is "glorious" because he defeated at the Boyne, with well disciplined troops, what was no better, for war purposes, than a mob deserted by its leader. Never did he gain any other glory in the field, except it be glory to run away. He was, indeed, masterly at making retreats; but in all his battles with the French, aided by his allies, he never gained a single victory, but was invariably defeated.

How he was "pious" none but Orangemen could ever guess. As for his Protestantism it was simply the instrument of his ambition; had he thought that Catholicism or Mahommedanism would have served his purpose better he would have been as much its champion as he was that of Protestantism. It is very plausible to pretend that he treated his father-in-law and near relative, the unfortunate James II., in the treacherous manner he did, on account of his pious zeal for Protestantism; but no such excuse could be made for his treatment of his Protestant wife, Mary, who was always faithful to him, and devoted to his interests.† It was, perhaps, "pious," on the part of William, to choose a mistress from his wife's maids of honor, on the day of her marriage, subsequently making the same use of the sister of that mistress, while treating his lawful wife and cousin as if she were a mistress chosen from the inferior servants.

If all this was not "pious" perhaps it was so to compel his wife to keep company in public and private with men of

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*Jean DeWitt et son frère, Corneille, derniers soutiens de la republique, sont massacrés, et Guillaume vivement soupconne d'avoire ordonn ce crime est, élu.—*Nouvelle Biog., Gen. tome xxii., p. 626.*

† Vide Miss Strickland's Queen's of England, Mary II. Also Lingard's Hist. of England, vol. xiii., p. 235.

whose services he desired to avail himself; this he did in several instances, but it is sufficient for our purpose to mention that of the Duke of Monmouth. "His intentions," says Miss Strickland, "it is well known, were inimical to Mary's father from whom he meant to rend the crown. The greatest intimacy had always subsisted in childhood between Mary and Monmouth, at the court of her uncle. *By the orders of the Prince of Orange*, and to the great displeasure of her father it was now *revived*. Mary, by the *command* of her husband, skated by day and danced by night with the handsome exile."*

A short time previous, the "handsome exile" had abandoned his own wife, the Duchess of Buccleugh, in order that he might be enabled to live the more comfortably with his mistress, Harriet Wentworth. Mary objected to receiving this lady at court, but the Prince of "Glorious, pious and immortal memory" compelled her, not only to receive her, but to keep company with her! † As to William's title to "immortality," that indeed cannot be disputed; the two massacres we have mentioned would have conferred a certain kind of immortality on the basest and most stupid of the human race.

It is no pleasure to us to recall these facts; we do not do so for the purpose of depreciating the character of William, or for that of giving offence to any sect or party; but simply to point out to Orangemen and to those who might become Orangemen, what the real basis of the Orange society is. What the boasted "principles" of Orangeism are will be seen as we proceed; it will also be seen how well the "loyal" performances at Glencoe in defence of the Protestant throne of England have been imitated, from time to time, in the valleys and hamlets of the north of Ireland, by those who rejoice in the proud title of "Williamites."

But as William III. is the deity of the Orangemen, so has His Royal Highness, the Duke of Cumberland, been their high priest. For several years he was their cherished and beloved Grand Master. Now, what was the character of this personage? Every intelligent person can see for

* Queen's of England, Harper's abridged edition, p. 547. † Ib.

himself from English testimony what Ernest Augustus was. If he had any other quality to recommend him to the Orangmen of Ireland, than his wish to oppress their native country, as much as possible, ostensibly because he hated Popery, but really because he wanted to treat Ireland as a conquered province that had no right to expect any lenity from the conqueror—if there was anything else in his character which ought to recommend him to a body of sensible, "pious," and "loyal" men, we have never been able to discover what it was. But that he had more bad qualities than fall to the lot of most royal personages has been discovered by every thoughtful, unprejudiced person, acquainted with the recent history of England.

It is well known that Ernest Augustus did his best to foment a rebellion in England in his own favor, under pretence that the Duke of Wellington was about to seize upon the throne for himself.* In the House of Lords he always aided the Tories in their most intolerant, bigoted and oppressive measures, especially in their legislation against Ireland. He called his brother George IV. a traitor when he heard that he was in favor of granting Catholic Emancipation. It was notorious that he did all in his power to influence the king against that measure. The animosity which he evinced against all in favor of Emancipation, excited the anger and disgust of William IV., then Duke of Clarence, who denounced his conduct as "infamous" and refused to give him any satisfaction for having done so. In a word, the English people detested the Duke of Cumberland so much, that he was obliged to spend most of his time in Germany.†

On succeeding to the throne of Hanover, he soon proved that his opposition to liberal principles was no passing whim. On the 28th of June, 1837, he ar-

* Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. iii. p. 563.

† Les mauvaises dispositions qu' il excita contre lui se firent jour en différents circonstances, entre autres à l'occasion du capitaine Grant, né dans la famille, royale d'Angleterre par suite d'un mariage secret et d'un événement tragique arrivé dans son hôtel (la mort violente et mystérisuse d'un de ses valets de chambre) ; mais il persista dans ses opinions, et se montra le constant adversaire de toues les réformes proposées au sein du parlement et le plus ardent promoteur du systéme des tories.—*Nouvelle Biog.* Génér. T. xvi. p. 288—See also Martineau's Hist. vol. 3, c. v.

rived in his capital, and on the 8th of July following, not fully two weeks, he announced in his letters-patent that he intended to set aside the constitution of Hanover. Even his Tory friends in England advised him not to take so rash a step; but he was not to be dissuaded from doing anything in his power to keep down the masses. His first administrative act was to prorogue the Hanovarian parliament, called the Assembly of States, but in less than three months he dissolved it, and annulled the constitution, declaring that it had never been valid! *

It is almost needless to remark that he offended all classes of his subjects by this high-handed proceeding. The more thoughtful evinced their dislike in various ways. Seven professors of the University of Göttingen refused to proceed with the election of a representative until the constitution should be restored. For this they were immediately dismissed by the ex-Grand Master of the Orangemen, and three of them banished. No wonder that this caused serious riots, and it was still less to be wondered at that the students left the lecture rooms and escorted their exiled instructors over the frontier. The king pretended that the displaced professors were condemned by their brother professors; but the misrepresentation did no good but much harm, for six more professors immediately came forward and declared their sympathy with the exiles. The troops had to be called out; they suppressed the disturbance for the time. But Ernest Augustus soon found that he had not merely offended his own subjects; several of the smaller German States, including Baden and Saxony, protested against the arbitrary proceedings of the king as a violation of the federal league of Germany; and the justice of their protest was fully recognised by the Germanic Diet at its next meeting. Thus, finding his efforts at despotism foiled on every side, he was forced to restore the constitution which he had declared null and void.†

The reader may well ask what sympathy any class of

* Vide Marteneau's Hist. of England, vol. iv., pp. 119–20.

† Ses premiers actes annoncèrent une politique grosse de troubles et d' impopularité. Il en proclama une nonvelle en 1840; mais il ne fut guère fidèle a ce pacte fondamental. Ib.

Irishmen could have for princes of this character; and it is a question which few could answer. There was a class, however, whose interest it was to sympathise with the enemies of their country; that class was the wealthy landlords and those who owned the rich sinecures of the Established Church. It was their belief that in proportion as the Protestant and Catholic masses became friendly towards each other, the landlord system and the Law Church sytem would undergo a radical change. There was nothing they feared more than this, and in order to prevent it they would have sympathised with the Czar of Russia, the Sultan of Turkey, or any other despot who would have aided them in postponing the evil day.

This is the secret of the so-called respectability of the Orange Society; it explains how it was that the wealthiest and most influential of the nobility headed the Orangemen in their processions, applauded such of their songs as "To hell with the Pope," "Croppies lie down," "The Protestant Boys," "The Pope in the pillory, and the devil throwing priests at him," &c., and not only drank and caroused with them until the peer could hardly be distinguished from the peasant; but often encouraged them to the commission of the grossest outrages on their Catholic neighbours.

They incurred but little risk by conduct like this, seeing that they themselves were the "authorities," the magistrates, high sheriffs, grand jurors and crown prosecutors. The shop-keepers, mechanics, small farmers, and day-laborers of whom the Orange Society was principally composed, fancied themselves greatly raised in the scale of importance by being permitted to assemble in the same tavern, or town-hall, with the lords of the soil, "the nobility and gentry." They thought it could not be otherwise than noble and good to drink "the glorious, pious and immortal memory," and curse the Pope in such company; and in order to feel satisfied that they were religiously employed all the time, even when they were murdering women and children, it was only necessary for them to remember that each lodge had its chaplain, who generally closed the proceedings with prayer, thanking God that they were not like the idolatrous

Papists around them who worshipped "the —— of Babylon," &c.

We are well aware how much like exaggeration this must seem to any one who is not acquainted with the working of the Orange system in the North of Ireland; but we trust our readers know that we are not in the habit of indulging in statements of that character. That we do not in this case we shall abudantly prove by testimony, which if it were at all influenced by prejudice, the prejudice would naturally tend to the opposite side. It will be admitted that it is not likely that English, Scotch and Irish Protestants and Quakers would bear false testimony before select committees of the House of Commons against the Orangemen, and in favor of the Catholics. They could have no rational motive for being guilty of conduct so disgraceful.

Before presenting our readers any sworn testimony, we will quote a remark or two from the Edinburgh Review for January, 1850. "They (the Orangemen) composed the higher orders—grand jurors, sheriffs, magistrates, clergymen, members of parliament, peers, judges and privy councellors—and received the *physical support of the militia and yeomen who were constituted almost exclusively of Orangemen.* The Roman Catholic party, on the other hand, was composed of the lower order of the population, without leaders to guide and restrain them, almost without arms, (for the magistrates issued arms *to none but their own adhersnts*) without money to contend for justice in the courts of law, they had little to trust to but their numbers."*

This is undoubtedly a correct statement of the relative strength and influence of the Orangemen and the people whom it was their chief object to persecute and crush. A little further on, the same reviewer makes the following observation: "To give some idea of the responsibility falling upon those who encourage Orange processions, we will enumerate a few of the principal Orange riots in the five years preceding the formal dissolution of the society in 1836."†

We have not room to transcribe this bloody and dis-

* Ed. Rev., vol. xci. pp. 88—9. † Ib., p. 89.

graceful catalogue; we can only refer to it, such as may doubt the attrocities alluded to above. Some would naturally infer from the remark just quoted, in connection with our own references to the Society, as if it were merely a thing of the past, that there are no Orangemen, or no Orange Society at the present day. But were this the case we should never write the present article; for we have no desire to recall what was painful and disagreeable in the past, except when good may be attained by it, by putting the unwary on their guard, and if possible to induce them to profit by the experience of those who have gone before them.

But it is now time to present such fragments from the sworn testimony given before select committees as we can make room for; our first extract will be from that of Mr. Christie, a worthy member of the Society of Friends. This gentleman relates the experience of nearly 70 years, without any motive to misrepresent those among whom he had lived for so long a period. The salient points of his evidence are the following: "He heard some times of twelve or fourteen Catholic houses wrecked in a night and some destroyed"—(5570). "That this commenced in the neighborhood of Church-hill,' 'between Portadown and Dungannon, and then it extended over nearly *all the northern counties.** * In the course of time, after the Catholics were many of them *driven from the country*, and took refuge in different parts of Ireland, I understood they went to Connaught. Some years after, when peace and quietness was in a measure restored, some returned again; probably five or six years afterwards. The property which they left was transferred, in most instances, to Protestants; where they had houses, and gardens and small farms of land, it was generally handed over by the landlords to Protestant tenants. That occurred within my knowledge.' He further says, "It continued for two or three years, but was not quite so bad in 1796 and 1797 as it was earlier. After this wrecking, and the Catholics were driven out, what was called the Break-of-Day party, merged into Orangemen; they passed from the one to the other, and the gentlemen in the country procured what they termed their Orange warrants to enable them to assemble legally, as they

termed it. The name dropped, and Orangeism succeeded to Break-of-Day Men"—(5575.)

Seeing that the society was little more than in its infancy at this time, it must be admitted that it promised to realize the most sanguine expectations of its founders and high priests; its conduct was yet comparatively mild, however. Murdering a few priests here and there, burning a Catholic village, and forcing the inhabitants to seek shelter in the woods, and then hunting them up as robbers, or rather as wild beasts, were but trifles to the scenes enacted in subsequent years, when it was pretended that there was danger of another "Popish plot."

The proofs of these facts are sufficient to satisfy the most skeptical. We may quote almost at random from the various reports before us. Thus, for instance, Mr. Hunter, a magistrate and a Protestant, testifies as follows:

"A scene then occurred, the most frightful and disgraceful ever witnessed; no one who has not seen a drunken mob of at least seven hundred men, armed, excited, and out of uniform, can conceive anything like it; the Orangemen pressed on with shouts and imprecations; many shots were fired by them in the rear, and an attempt made to overpower the military; the magistrates again read the riot act, and the soldiers were ordered to charge bayonets; after a struggle of about half an hour, during which the Orangemen did everything in their power to insult and intimidate the magistrates, they were forced back to Bellaghy at the point of the bayonet, fortunately without loss of life; and if it had not been for the admirable discipline of the officers and men, the temperate conduct of the magistrates, events the most deplorable must have happened. After this repulse the Orangemen from a distance marched home in procession, and tranquility appeared to be restored." *

It is but justice to say, that although the landed proprietors of Ulster were, in general, in favor of Orangeism for the reasons mentioned above, there have always been noblemen in reality as well as by title, whose Protestantism, or "loyalty" could not blind them to the atrocious outrages committed by the Orangemen on the defenceless Catholics who surrounded them. Among this class of noblemen none de-

* Appendix to Report of Select Committee, p. 249. See the same testimony, and much more, quoted in the British and Foreign Review, vol. ii., pp. 360. et seq.

serves a more honorable mention in the page of history, than the late Lord Gosford who, as Govener of Armagh, convened the magistrates of the county in order to adopt some measures for the protection of the Catholics from their Orange assassins and plunderers, and addressed them in the following language:

"It is no secret that a *persecution*, accompanied with all the circumstances of *ferocious cruelty* which have in all ages distinguished that dreadful calamity, is now raging in this country. Neither *age*, nor even *acknowledged innocence* as to the late disturbances is sufficient to excite mercy, much less afford protection. The only crime which the wretched objects of this merciless persecution are charged with, is a crime of easy proof; *it is simply a profession of the Roman Catholic faith.* A *lawless banditti* have constituted themselves judges of this species of delinquency, and the sentence they pronounce is equally concise and terrible; it is nothing less than a confiscation of all property, and immediate banishment. It would be extremely painful, and surely, unnecessary, to detail the *horrors* that attend the execution of so wide and tremendous a proscription, which certainly exceeds, in the comparative number of those it *consigns to ruin* and misery, every example that ancient or modern history can afford. For where have we heard, or *in what history of human cruelties* have we read, of *more than half the inhabitants of a populous country* deprived at one blow of the means as well as of the fruits of their industry, and driven in the midst of an inclement winter to seek a shelter for themselves and their helpless families where chance may guide them? This is no exaggerated picture of the horrid scenes now acting in this country; yet surely it is sufficient to awaken sentiments of *indignation and compassion in the coldest heart.* Those horrors are now acting, and acting *with impunity.* The spirit of impartial justice (without which law is nothing better than tyranny) has for a time *disappeared* in this country, and the supinenes of the magistracy is a topic of conversation in every corner of this kingdom!"—*Evidence*, 3251. See, also, Ed. Rev., vol. 62, p. 473.

This is a gloomy picture, but by no means overdrawn. A hurried glance at particular occurrences will serve to illustrate the statement of his lordship. Nor need we go back farther than 1830. In this year a large body of police were unable to prevent the Orangemen from attacking the poor Catholic peasantry at Crossgar in the county of Down. They had to call the military to their aid; and even the troops had considerable difficulty in preventing the utter

extermination of a whole village. The same year they made a similar attack at Dungannon, another at Tanderaghee, and another at Maghera, in Londonderry. In no instance were they satisfied without blood. At Maghera the Catholics first made some resistance; but they dispersed in obedience to the magistrate. The Orangemen promised to do the same; but as soon as the troops were out of the way they rushed upon the village of Drummond. The inhabitants fled, but this did not save themselves or their humble dwellings; many of the former were shot down in their flight and many of the latter were set on fire and burned.

The same year a body of Orangemen marched in procession through the Catholic village of Mahery, in Armagh, playing "Croppies lie down," "Protestant Boys" and "To hell with the Pope." Some Catholic boys broke their drums. Two days after the Orangemen made a general onslaught on the village. No opposition was made; the Catholics being comparitively few and unarmed fled with their lives. All who were unable to do so, either by sickness or old age, were treated in the most brutal manner; as usual several were killed. A widow woman, within eight days of her confinement, was stabbed with a bayonet and knocked down. Twenty-eight houses were set on fire, and burned, and all they contained was pillaged and destroyed.* All this took place in presence of Col. Verner, who was both a magistrate and Orange Grand Master of the county. But were the assassins and incendiaries punished? The whole affair was, indeed, brought into court; but while the Roman Catholics were convicted and sentenced to three months' imprisonment for breaking the drums, not a single Orangemen received the least punishment! †

In 1831, an old woman was shot in her house at Tullyorier,

* Lord Gosford, in his testimony before the House of Commons, makes the following statement: "Did you hear that on that occasion there was a man of the name of John Moore, a poor bedridden man, who had been confined to his bed six months prior to this, and that they carried him out of the house to the snow, where he perished? I think he was; they carried him out and laid him somewhere; it was very severe weather, and he died very shortly after his his removal."—See Brit. and For. Rev., p. 362.

† Vide Ed. Rev., vol. 91, p. 90.

in the county of Down, and four men were pursued by the Orangemen, fired upon and driven into the river, where they were drowned. In 1832, while the Party Procession's Act was pending before Parliament, the usual bloody scenes were enacted at Dungannon. The following year there were frightful Orange riots at Lurgan, Tanderagee, Loughall, Ballyhagen and Cootehill. But the briefest catalogue of the outrages committed would exhaust our space.

In commenting on some of these outrages a writer in the Edinburgh Review remarks: "But the case of the Macken riots is of a darker dye. Here the Orangemen not only were not tried, but the *offenders* on their side were actually summoned as *jurymen* upon the trial of their Catholic opponents; who being thus tried by a jury exclusively Orange, or Protestant, contrary to instructions from the Attorney-General, on being found guilty, *one man was hanged* and the rest were transported."—(7423; also Appendix G, 226.*) Thus the Catholics are attacked by the Orangemen with the utmost ferocity; the former try to defend themselves against an overwhelming armed mob, and for this they are hanged and transported. But let us give a few particulars to show how such sentences were passed in the name of justice. The first case that occurs to us is that of Dromore in the county of Tyrone; part of the sworn testimony, which could not be disputed, is as follows: "Lieutenant Hamton came marching into the fair in the evening, with a party of his own company of yeomanry. They were armed with their guns and bayonets; the country had been disturbed a good deal with party feuds. One corps assaulted several Catholic persons as they came into town. * * When they arrived opposite the house of a man named James Kelly, a publican, Lieutenant Hamilton ordered them to halt, and immediately after that he gave them the word of command to prime, and load, and fire into the house, which order they obeyed. Several persons that were there taking refreshment were wounded by the shot, and the deceased Michael McBrian was killed."

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* Ed. Rev., vol. 62, p. 492.

sentiments. He detested the narrow orthodoxy of the religionists with whom he was most acquainted, but he replaced their superstitious tenets with a more ennobling charity. He could not believe in a deity who was characterized as the fountain of mercy, and who yet predestines his creatures to eternal torment. He was confident that, notwithstanding his errors, he could with trust repose upon

"The bosom of his Father and his God."

These lines express that hopeful trust and confidence—

"Where with intention I have erred
No other plea I have
But thou art good; and goodness still
Delighteth to forgive."

His religion was not of a highly spiritual character. As he loved his fellows and could not harbor a malignant thought, he believed that much more the pure and all powerful Deity must look with compassion rather than anger upon the frailties of weak and suffering mortals. He esteemed the God of his worship as he would estimate a good man.

"The heart benevolent and kind
The most resembles God."

Hating hypocrisy and superstition, he yet reverenced the religious observances with which he was familiar, and ever speaks of genuine piety with veneration. His conduct in several situations in life—especially in relation to his marriage—could only have been dictated by conscientious considerations having their origin in religious convictions.

Were there such compensations in the life of Burns that he received a measure of happiness equal to the average of mankind? This question opens a field of inquiry and speculation into which few dare to venture, and fewer still, perhaps, who have answered such questions for themselves would care to give their thoughts to the world. We can only say that we believe the soul to be immortal; that God is just; that this life is but a day in the cycle of eternity, and that death is but an act-drop for the drama of existence which shall continue forever.

wrecking of Catholic chapels took place in my neighborhood, it was observed by myself and by many others that while lying, *unroofed* the Catholics, *no matter how severe the weather*, attended more attentively to their duty during that time than was observable when they had a good house to go into. * * As I passed by these burnt chapels in the winter time, *where they had to kneel down in the snow six inches deep*, I really pitied them."*

It is pleasant to remark that if the newspapers of the day were in the habit of pandering to the bad passions of the stronger, or wealthier side, the English quarterlies pursued the opposite course. We have several of these periodicals before us now, including the Edinburgh Review, the Westminster Review, and the British and Foreign Review, each of which denounces the conduct of the Orangemen in the strongest terms. In none of these is there any abuse of priests; on the contrary, each speaks of them in the language of approbation and respect, because, in calmly and dispassionately examining the facts, they could not do otherwise without being guilty of injustice, and thereby putting themselves on a level with the thoughtless fanatics, whose conduct they discuss. Commenting on the affair at Dolly's Brae, which has given that village a bloody fame, the Edinburgh Review remarks, that Mr. Thomas Scott, one of the magistrates, "makes honorable mention (in his report to government) of the Roman Catholic priest, Mr. Morgan, *who exerted himself to the utmost* to keep the people quiet." It was, however, no use, so far as the Orangemen were concerned; his being peaceful, and as conciliatory as possible, was nothing to them. As he approached, they cried, "There's a priest—to hell with the priest—to hell with the Pope!"†

While one part of the Orange column occupied itself in firing at the Catholics, we are told that "those who were in front broke loose from all restraint in Maheramayo, *where there was no opposition*, and *began to burn and wreck the houses*, while some scattered themselves over

* Irish Rep., 3709. † Ed. Rev. for Jan., 1850, p. 102.

the fields to complete the same work of devastation."* Mr. Scott, the magistrate already alluded to, testifies that he saw two Orangemen trying to set a house on fire; and that, in order to prevent it, he struck one and took the gun from the other. Mr. Tighe, another magistrate, deposes that he saw an Orangeman firing into the thatch of a house for the purpose of setting it on fire, but admits that he made no attempt to arrest him. Mr. Curry, police inspector, testifies that he entered six burning houses; an old woman was struggling to escape from one, but the door was partly closed and the blazing thatch falling over it. A policeman rescued a girl eighteen years old from another house. Sub-Constable Fair took a woman out of a house on fire, blackened and wounded. Another constable testifies that he saw an Orangeman *strike a woman* with the but of his gun, as she was trying to escape from the flames. Mr. Fitzmaurice, stipendary magistrate, testifies that he stopped a man in the act of firing at a girl who was rushing from her father's house. An old woman of seventy was murdered; and the skull of an idiot was beaten in with the buts of Orange muskets. The Roman Catholic chapel, the house of the Roman Catholic curate, and the *National school-house* were fired into and the windows broken, and a number of the surrounding houses of the Roman Catholic inhabitants were set on fire and burnt, every article of furniture having been first wantonly destroyed.†

We pause here for a moment to remark that doubtless many of our readers will wonder why the Orangemen would attack a national school-house, since the national schools are those established by the British government and over which the Catholics had no control. Yet their burning the school-house was no accidental occurrence. It was sufficient for them that Catholics were admissible to those schools; accordingly they gave them all the opposition in their power. We have now before us copies of many resolutions passed with acclamation at their public meetings, of which the following will serve as a specimen: "That as Protestants we *reprobate*

* Ib.

† Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. See also Ed Rev., vol. 91, p. 103.

the new system of National Education, and that we *will not listen to any pastor* whom we see to encourage it, or whom we know to approve of it."*

There is abundance of testimony in the Reports, and other works before us, to show that this was not the only point in which they wished to control their pastors. In illustration of this, we may remark that the Rev. Mr. Brydge, a Presbyterian clergyman, was expelled from his church because he refused to give evidence in favor of an Orangeman named Richy, charged with murdering several Catholics, and burning their houses. We quote a fragment from the sworn testimony of Mr. Bell:

"They threatened him; they came into the meeting-house, yelling and shouting, and threatening him when he was in the pulpit, and ordered him from it, and he remonstrated with them and begged of them to hear him in his own defence; and if they did, that he was certain they would all give him credit for what he had done; for that he had acted conscientiously, that he was afraid of doing harm to the young man, and they would not hear him.

"6795.—Have you fully related what occurred on the second day? No, not fully.

"6796.—State all the important circumstances of that day? I went so far as my going for a magistrate; he came and remonstrated with the people, and they would not attend to him by any means. They said, 'Away with him;' they said they would not suffer him there; that they would have neither trial nor anything else, but put him away, in consequence of his not supporting this man: then after leaving the place they were likely to trample us down, Mr. Brydge and his friends, but we escaped on that day. I suppose I need not take up the time of the Committee in stating a number of particulars that I cannot be precise about, but the rage of the Orange party was such that we could not stand before them at all, nor could we be heard. When Mr. Brydge called a meeting of the Presbytery, the only authorized body to investigate the matter which was complained of, they *pulled down several seats in the meeting-house, and destroyed part of the pulpit and windows.*"†

Our readers are aware that at the present day it is the Catholic priests that are accused of opposing schools, and wishing to keep their people in ignorance; and the accusation

* Irish Report, 3, Appendix, p. 32. Ed. Rev., vol. lxii., p. 479.

† Those who cannot see the Parliamentary Rep. are referred to the Brit. and Foreign Rev pp. 370-1.

is made consistently enough by the members of a party who really have opposed education. It is very true that the priests of Ireland have been opposed to schools established for the express purpose of proselyting; but no class of educated men have taken more pains to aid in establishing schools. We can bear testimony ourselves, as eye-witnesses, that in numerous instances those much abused Irish priests have become teachers themselves in their own parishes, and taught the poor gratis when they had no other means of instruction. We can also testify that some of the most learned and most accomplished private teachers we have met in Ireland, or anywhere else, belonged to this class. But intelligent Americans, such as we have the honor of addressing, need no testimony at the present day to satisfy them that Catholic priests are not enemies of education. The number of colleges which they have established throughout the United States, chiefly for the benefit of the poorest classes of our adopted citizens, not to mention academies, seminaries and schools, would not only fully acquit them of any such charge, but prove that no other class evince a more earnest, indefatigable zeal in favor of the good cause.

A similar charge is made against them, in regard to favoring aristocracy; but the truth is that their teaching is more republican than that of any other clergy whatever, and for this, much more than for their "Popery," have they been so much disliked by the Tory landlords of Ulster. But of all parties or sects, none have been more in favor of aristocracy in its worst form than the Orangemen of Ireland. There is little research necessary in order to find sufficient evidence of this. At the very meeting at which the resolution against the National schools, which we have just quoted, was unanimously passed, another resolution was passed with equal unanimity, which runs thus: "That the support we speak of means to encourage Protestant tenants on the one hand, and to defend Protestant land owners on the other; to *preserve a Protestant population, and to keep at its head an aristocracy* truly Protestant." These resolutions were adopted at a meeting of the Grand Orange Lodge of the county Tyrone, which was held on the 27th of April, 1832, Joseph Green, Esq., Grand

Master, in the chair. Many similar resolutions have been passed within the last decade, but we prefer quoting these because they are to be found in works which are accessible to our readers.*

The "resolutions" passed by the Orangemen at their public meetings may well seem intollerant and absurd, but their petitions to the reigning sovereign are, if possible, still more so. We cannot give our readers a more correct idea of these curious documents than by quoting a stanza or two from Moore's "Petition of the Orangemen of Ireland," which can hardly be called a burlesque, so faithfully does it represent the spirit, if not the letter of the real "petitions," as duly approved by such pious divines as the Rev. Mr. Mortimer O'Sullivan, the Rev. Sir Harcourt Lees, &c.:

"That, forming one-seventh, within a few fractions,
Of Ireland's seven millions of hot heads and hearts,
We hold it the basest of all base transactions
To keep us from murd'ring the other six parts:

* * * *

"That 'tis very well known this devout Irish nation
Has now, for some ages, gone happily on,
Believing in two kinds of substantiation,
One party in *Trans* and the other in *Con*;

"That we, your petitioning *Cons*, have, in right
Of the said monosyllable, ravaged the lands,
And embezzled the goods, and annoy'd day and night,
Both the bodies and souls of the sticklers for *Trans*."

We have already given a glimpse of the sort of efforts made "to preserve a Protestant population," &c. We will now give a further insight of the *modus operandi*, although we have but little space left for that purpose. Returning to the bloody performances at Mayeramayo, we quote a passage or two from the testimony of sworn witnesses, promising that this is the only instance in which we adduce the evidence of Catholics; although their testimony is corroborated in every important particular by Protestant magistrates, inspectors of police, &c. Some of the

* Vide Ed. Rev. for Jan. 1836, p. 479.

scenes which took place in the houses, and which have already been alluded to, are best described in the simple, unvarnished language, of the poor people on whom the attacks were made :

"*Bridget King*—I know Pat King, who was killed on the 12th of July ; he was taking care of his mother on that day ; the door was shut. I saw the Orangemen fire at the house ; they broke in the door ; they pulled him over the garden ditch, and stabbed him ; he died in ten minutes afterwards ; he was not out of the house that day."

"*Margaret King*—I was in the house when the door was broken and my uncle Pat King killed ; the house filled with Orangemen ; one of them hit him on the head with a stone ; three of them then took him down to the low room ; I got into a field ; one of the Orangemen said—'D—n your soul for a Popish b—h,' *and knocked me down off the garden ditch with a stone ;* when I returned to the garden, three of them *had my uncle down and were stabbing him ;* I got into a byre and hid in some hay ; some of them came in and stabbed the cow in two places, broke the stake, and let her out. When I could do so with safety I went to my uncle, and got his head on my knee ; he lived about ten minutes after that. The dragoons came up just as my uncle was dying ; one of them said—'Maybe he'll come to again.' They (the Orange) d—d my grandmother, who is an old bed-ridden woman the last year and a half—*spat in her face, hit her on the head with a stone*—cut her arms, and then *smashed a chair on her forehead.*"—*Berwick's Report to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland*, 1849.

On the same occasion Arthur Traynor was shot in the cheek. On the police coming up he was made prisoner, although Mr. Beers, Orange Grand Master, admitted that he was a peacefully disposed man. Besides being dangerously wounded, his house was burned and all his property destroyed, while no one could pretend that he was guilty of any misconduct ; bnt the Orange magistrates boasted of their impartiality because they did not send him to jail for some months with other "Papists" who had been in the Orangemen's way in a similar manner. His wife testifies as follows :

"*Margaret Traynor*—The men with sashes on them fired into my house, and burned it, and destroyed it ; they chased the old woman who is dead into the byre, and followed her ; I saw her after they went away ; she was then drawing breath, but she died in about an hour afterwards. They shot my husband in the cheek and made a prisoner of him. I saw Pat King a killing ; they dragged him out of his house; he begged for mercy ; he got away from them and ran into the garden ;

three of the men made a bounce at him; others following them; they stoned him in the garden; I saw him gathering himself up and begging for mercy."—*Ib.*

In speaking of the affair at Maghera, Mr. Hunter, the magistrate, whose testimony has already been alluded to, closes his official report with the following description:

"There was not a human being to be seen in the whole district, they had all fled; and the *yells and screams* of Orangemen, *whilst setting fire to the houses*, the deliberate discharge of their musketry upon the straggling people, whilst flying, and their own appearance, stripped to their shirts, and covered with smoke and powder, can never be effaced from the memory of those who witnessed it.

"Any thing so disgraceful to the character of men, and of Protestants, so *savage*, so *lawless*, and so uncalled for, cannot be forgotten: the whole was done with such deliberation, and open defiance of the law. The magistrate from Maghera, at the peril of his life, rode up to the Orangemen on the spot, entreated them to desist, and read the Riot-Act for the third time, but nothing would satisfy them. The magistrate was fired at, and the bullet struck the ground within a few yards of his horse."

We could fill, not an article, but an octavo volume with testimony of this kind; but we think our readers will excuse us from giving any more of such details. Quite enough has been given to show what the character of Orangeism really is. Who will deny that we have proved that scenes have been enacted by the Orangemen, in the north of Ireland, that are fully entitled to rank in baseness and atrocity with the massacre of Glencoe, or any other massacre? Nor has any unprejudiced writer, who has ever discussed the subject, expressed a different opinion. The several English and Scotch periodicals now before us denounce the whole system in the strongest language which it would be proper to apply to the worst malefactors that have ever disgraced humanity. "Whether," says the British and Foreign Review, "the society, framed under such circumstances of atrociety, has preserved *the features of its parentage*, and in its maturity has maintained the character that distinguished its *birth* and *growth*—whether cradled as it was in atrocity, and *nursed with blood*, it has been sustained by the same aliment, or has undergone a change of habits and tendencies and lost its first and

idolators."* But their chief excuse has been that they were obliged to arm in self-defence, against the Ribbonmen. Th representation, being somewhat plausible, is believed by most Protestants in this country; but a very slight examination of the facts would show that in this case also the Catholics are wronged. Miss Martineau in her history of England takes careful, honest pains to ascertain the truth on this subject, and what she tells us is, that "investigation was made into the condition of Ribbonism, against which the Protestants declared themselves obliged to organize their Orangeism in self-defence; and, *to the surprise of the government no less than others*, it was found that *scarcely anything* but the *name existed.* Frequently as the world had been, and still was, alarmed by intimations in the newspapers of *dreadful Ribbon-plots*, they were found, *on the most searching enquiry, to be mere bugbears.*"†

Doubtless most of our readers are aware that the statue of William III., in College Green, Dublin, was blown up on its pedestal on the 7th of April, 1836. "Here," says the English Protestant historian, "was a Catholic outrage—an act of Ribbon sedition at last. But almost before this was said men began to smell some of the 'dry powder' (Orange) above referred to, in the train that blew up the statue. Government offered a large reward for the detection of the offenders; and the Dublin corporotion offered as much again. The perpetrator was never discovered; but *some incidents of the time* caused *a general impression* that the hand employed was that of a wrathful Orangeman."‡

No intelligent person doubts this at the present day. It is well understood that, indignant at the laws recently passed against their processions, the Orangemen wished to show the government what was to be expected from the Catholics when they had no longer any opposition to fear from "loyalists." Accordingly the Orange papers loudly and wrathfully exclaimed. "This is but the prelude! If this brutal outrage is allowed to pass with impunity, no loyal

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* Berwick's Rep. Ap. &c., &c. † Vol. 4, p, 7.
‡ Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. iv., p. 8,

Protestant will be safe." The attempt to create a panic failed, however, and no loyal or disloyal Protestant was killed by Catholics on account of the anti-Orange Processions Act.

But the destruction of the Orange idol was not the only means had recourse to at this time for the purpose of exciting the fears of liberal Protestants, and bringing their fears to bear on the existing government. We will mention one more; and in accordance with the course we have adopted throughout this article, when making any statement that might seem incredible, we avail ourselves of English Protestant testimony. "In consequence," says the historian last quoted, "of a government prohibition of Orange processions in the north, a pamphlet was widely circulated which called on Orangemen *to break the law, because* government did not punish such breaches of the law as the *swarming of Jesuits throughout the land*, and the rearing of the *unhallowed heads of monasteries*"* But enough as to what the system has been in Ireland. Has there ever been a worse system anywhere, in ancient or modern times?

Many attempts have been made to establish Orange lodges in the United States; they have, indeed, entirely failed as such; but have not failed to do much mischief. The most thoughtless American could not be convinced that there could be much glory, piety or patriotism, in murdering his Catholic fellow-citizens in commemoration of the battles of Aughrim and the Boyne; accordingly, none but Irish, Scotch, English and Canadian Orangemen, and their immediate descendants and relatives, have ever belonged to the lodges of New York, Boston, and Philadelphia. If Americans, or any men in favor of free institutions and the rights of conscience, or opposed to despotism, bigotry and intollerance, have been inveigled into those secret and pernicious conventicles, they have soon withdrawn from them in disgust.

It has, therefore, been found necessary to introduce the virus into the American body politic, under a new name, and so disguised that it cannot be detected until it has done at least a

* Martineau's Hist. of Eng., vol. iv', p. 7.

certain amount of harm. Thus it was that so many well-meaning people were imposed upon some years since, by what was called "Know-Nothingism." A large number who, from their position, ought to have had better sense, brought disgrace on themselves at this time. It will be remembered that all of a sudden they became terribly frightened "at the machinations of Popery." Not only were they afraid of the Jesuits and all monks; they were equally terrified at what the nuns might do—especially the Sisters of Charity. As for the Catholic chambermaids, laundresses, cooks, &c., they regarded the whole sisterhood, from Maine to California, as engaged in a conspiracy, the object of which was no less frightful than the extermination of all Protestants.

Even the legislature of an enlightened Commonwealth was altogether free from the general tripidation; but so far exposed itself to public scorn and ridicule, as to make the first search for the supposed danger in the private chambers of a community of pious, exemplary ladies, engaged in the peaceful pursuit of teaching the youth of their sex. These, and other proceedings, we could mention, were much to be dedeplored, but they were only of brief duration. The good sense, liberality, and hatred of persecution characteristic of the American people, soon frowned down what, in reality, was but a milder type of Orangeism than that which committed such ravages in the vicinity of Aughrim, the Boyne, and Glencoe.

ART. VI.—1. *Georg Wilhelm Frederich Hegel's Leben, beschriben durch Karl Rosenkranz (The Life of Wm. Frederick Hegel, by* CHARLES ROSENKRANZ.) Berlin.

2. G. W. F. HEGEL'S *Werke.* (*The works of Hegel.*) Berlin, 15 Bde.

BY parentage Helgel was a pure Swabian. One a little familiar with German literature needs not to be told that this local designation is suggestive of the Doric element among the Greeks. To say that Swabia is the Teutonic Bœotia, however, would imply too much. For it is undeni-

able that many of the foremost German minds—Attic in cultivation, if not in native acuteness—are likewise Swabian.

Two or three centuries back the grand progenitor of the Hegels had migrated into Wurtemberg from Carinthia, induced thereto by religious motives. This event occurred not long after the Lutheran Reformation was established, and that movement received his zealous support. The descendants of this Hegel became numerous in Wurtemburg—though it appears they have since died out, or been transplanted—and were of middle rank, including some ecclesiastics and scholars. It was a clerical Hegel, as an admirer of the philosopher complacently records, that christened the poet Schiller.

George William Frederick Hegel, destined to give the name its chief celebrity, was born at Stuttgardt, on the 27th of August, 1770. Nothing very remarkable, nothing that could even be suspected to bear a fabulous characted, is related concerning his boyhood. When only in his sixth year, he had small-pox in its most malignant form, and was given up for lost. He became, in fact, wholly blind for several days, from the effects of the disease. A little earlier than this, even, he had begun to attend a Latin school; and he was a pupil at the gymnasium from the time he had completed his seventh year onward, until he went to the university. At eight he became acquainted with Shakspeare, through Wieland's translations, and took a lively interest, especially, in the "Merry Wives of Windsor." At ten, in addition to his other studies, he learned geometry and astronomy of a private instructor. This tutor (who rejoiced in the military title of Obrist, or Colonel,) also taught him, along with other boys, practical surveying, using the grass-plot before his own door as a field for experiment. The age of thirteen found the lad already more or less familiar with Latin, Greek and Hebrew. Such an extent of scholarship may well be deemed, in this country, something quite unusual for years so tender, yet to those about him it was no great marvel. As to physical grace or development, there is not very much to be said in his case. With a certain passion for some of the ruder sports, such as

violent leaping, he was yet but an awkward pupil of the dancing-master. A constantly excited and over-exerted brain gained the preponderance, thus early, in his bodily system, and remained henceforward, through life, rather morbidly than otherwise, in the ascendent. When yet a mere boy—no singular thing in such a case—he manifested signs of a political endowment, as well as symptoms of a germinating philosophical faculty of analysis.

At the gymnasium, Latin and Greek were his leading studies. He had a decided partiality for the latter language as compared with the former, but was a proficient in both. He came to write in Latin, according to the wont of the learned in his time, yet with a certain artificiality of manner that was specially noticed. While yet but seventeen, he made a complete written translation of Longinus on the sublime, still extant among his papers after his death; and at eighteen, he likewise put on paper a German version of the Antigone of Sophocles, a work which he thus early admired, and for which his enthusiasm continued unabated in matrurer years. While these studies chiefly occupied him at school, and more or less at home, he also gave attention to mathematics in private, apparently attaining a good groundwork therein.

As a declaimer, at the gymnasium, he did not at all succeed. In fact, through his whole life, it was conspicuously evident that his oral delivery was very defective. "*Orator haud magnus*," was the entry against his name in the "Seminarzeugniss." He had abundance of gesticulation in speaking, but his postures of body. and the modulations of his voice, did not sufficiently harmonize with the matter of his discourse. To crown all, he was a confirmed stammerer.

On the other hand, he had, in these days, a certain elegance in his written compositions, quite in contrast with his elocution. His biographer says of him that he now possessed facility of expression in a rare degree; also noting that he wrote beautifully in the French language; while confessing "a clumsiness of Hegel's oral diction," such as was "laughable to witness."

His attention to minute details, in whatever he under-

took, was manifested in this earlier school period, as in later life. He bestowed great care on his chirography, giving distinctness to each letter, and their proper consequence to all, with no confused running together, or needless blotting, in any instance. While attending the gymnasium, he made a catalogue of a number of old works, classic or other, which he had collected, noting the full title, the place and date of publication, and the exact cost of each. His common-place books, or extracts and notes of readings, appear to have been quite as volumnious as Southey's. Perhaps they were still more miscellaneous, as they certainly were less strictly belle-lettreish. These excerpts during his school days, were, we are told, almost without limit. In after years, he made similar extracts from several of the leading journals of Europe, as well as from higher periodicals and books of all sorts.

Closing his school-days at Stuttgart, (aét. 18,) he was matriculated at the University of Tubingen, in the autumn of 1788. The specialty to which he was "consecrated" here was theology, his intended profession being that of an ecclesiastic. It is certainly not uninteresting to notice, with some particularity, the studies, and the mode of life in general, pursued by our philosopher during these so important years, from the nineteenth to the twenty-fourth of his age, passed at the university. The relation they had to his peculiar mental development and to the work before him will not escape any reader's attention.

In the first year of his course, he listened to lectures on the systematic exegesis of the Psalms, the Acts of the Apostles, and the Catholic Epistles, and diligently delved for the wisdom to be found in Cicero's treatise *De Natura Deorum.* In subsequent years, he read a now forgotten history of philosophy, and equally nnnoteworthy works on Metaphysics and Natural Theology, by a voluminous Tubingen sage named Flatt. With his regular theological courses, he also listened to the orthodox "but rather dry" lectures of Professor Stow on Matthew, Luke, John, the canonical Epistle to the Romans, and dogmatic theology. Along with these prescribed and not especially invigorating studies,

he pursued a course of his own in the science of anatomy, as an episode in his professional preparation.

During the latter period of his university days, he had an attack of fever which interupted his academic course, and he remained, as a convalesent, for several months at his father's house in Stuttgart, eighteen miles distant. He passed this time especially in acquainting himself with botany, as well as recreating his mind with his "beloved Greek tragedies." There is no evidence of his having studied logic at the university, though, when only twelve or fourteen years of age, he had gained some knowledge of the logical system of Wolf. He found much satisfaction in the old Hebrew literature, and particularly in the book of Job, the peculiar characteristics of which, both as to form and contents, he admired. In general, however, his theological training was anything but a source of delight to himself.

He received the degree of Master of Philosophy in the autumn of 1790, on which occasion the subject of his dissertation was, *De limite officiorum humanorum, sepositâ animorum immortalitate.* This treatise shows, according to Rosenkranz, at once an acquaintance with the philosophy of Kant, a conflict therewith, and an attempt to surmount its dualism. From this time onward, until the end of Hegel's university life, we find an ample enumeration of themes, theses, and dissertations on philosophy and religion—all redolent of the rationalizing tendency of reformed theology—needless to be remembered save by admiring disciples, and to them, even, of little discernible value.

Outside of the immediate circle of his literary and scientific studies, Hegel had now but few accomplishments. He sometimes rode, but always badly. The same was true of fencing, which he began with his intimate friend, Fink, but soon after abandoned. He was very negligent of his dress, and hence, though not unsocially inclined, he did not prosper in his relations with the ladies. Occasionally, he manifested a convivial faculty by drinking stoutly, especially during the second year of his university life. He had, in truth, a clumsy and somewhat morose exterior, appearing older than he really was, and bore the nickname,

among his fellow-students, of "Old Man" (*alter.*). Yet his downright honesty and covert joviality endeared him, not only to his more immediate comrades, but to all the students in the city.

Two of his most esteemed friends at the university were Hölderlin and Schelling—the former a Swabian, of like age as himself, and also sharing his devotion for the Grecian—afterwards a writer of romance, and other works not much remembered in these days, abroad or at home. Schelling, a Swabian, too, born at the little village of Teoberg, eight miles from Stuttgart, first entered Hegel's circle in the autumn of 1790—"*præcox ingenium*"—was the son of a country parson. With apparent satisfaction, as the disciple of Hegel, Rosenkranz records that Schelling's knowledge of Hebrew was the principal cause of his high standing in his class, Hegel, five years the senior of his subsequent rival, being already master of philosophy when the former came to Tubingen.

There was one element of sympathy which formed a strong bond between Hegel and his fellows at the university. He had left the gymnasium near the time of the outbreak of the French Revolution. Already, while there, he had read Rousseau, and become a sharer of his democratic ideas, resulting in frequent disputes with his father, a clerk or other subordinate officer of the exchequer of Stuttgart, who earnestly maintained aristocratic principles. Our student of theology was an enthusiastic disciple, also, of the "liberty, equality, fraternity" school, and his brain was filled, as were those of so many others, old and young, with the ardent notions then radiating from Paris. "With constant enthusiasm, with purest heart," says Rosenkranz, "the noblest Germans turned to view the truly philosophical drama, there enacting. A Klopstock and a Schiller, a Kant and a Forster, a Baggesen and a Schlabrendorf, a Merk and a Jacobi, indulged themselves in glowing expectations of a social regeneration of Europe." How much more, then, was a university scholar, in the first ardor of youth, exposed to the contagion! One Sunday morning Hegel and Schelling, with some friends besides, formally erected and consecrated

a liberty-tree in a meadow not far from the city of Tubingen. A political club was formed in the college, to which Hegel belonged, and a reading-room established which was supplied with French and other newspapers of the sanguine sort. A conservative apothecary complained of this disloyal association. "Duke Carl himself came to Tubingen to investigate the matter, but was prudent enough to make nothing of it." He chose rather to give free course to this mere "poesy of cosmopolitanism," as Hegel's biographer styles this effervence, "which had already found vent in Schiller."

To all the other excitements of the time, vexing the quiet of our young theologian's Swabian mind, was a transient but none the less ardent attachment to a Mademoiselle Auguste, daughter of a deceased Tubingen, professor of theology, named Hegelmeier. She was now reduced, alas! to the necessity of doing service in the shop of a baker and wine-seller. Being "very beantiful, her mouth especially charming," she was somewhat coquettish withal, and, for a time, fairly imperilled a dispersion of all the ideas of dogmatics and exegesis which Professors Flatt and Stow had so laboriously lodged in his head. But he was not the youth to captivate coquettish young maidens with "specially charming" features of any sort, and his Swabian passion subsided in no long time, and in no very memorable manner. Auguste survived the ungainly theologue for several years, and died the wife of a Vice-Chancellor at Mannheim.

Soon after the close of his theological studies at Tubingen, in 1793, Hegel became a tutor in the family of a gentleman of Bern, in Switzerland. He appears to have gone thither with no heavy heart from disappointed love or otherwise, having first passed a week at Stuttgart, from whence, as his friend Staüdlin afterward reminds him, they together made "frequent excursions to Kannstadt, there mingling the enjoyment of wine with jest and laughter." His three years in Switzerland were uneventful enough in outward circustance. In May, 1795, he made a pilgrimage to Geneva. In the following year, with several friends, he made an excursion on foot among the Bernese Upper-Alps, eagerly observing the variety of natural forms and appearances among those

mountain solitudes and in the visible world around. To him, we are told, the rocks and ice seemed only dreary and dead, without any stimulus to the fancy, or incitement to the feelings. On the contrary, the water, with its playful movements, "delighted him to ecstasy." He even ventured an artistic description of the noted Fall of Reichenbach, which his biographer has praised but not published.

Aside from these two little excursions, he passed his Swiss epoch almost exclusively in the even quietude of scholarly life. To him as a student, not yet settled in his couse or calling—scarcely, even in his religious or intellectual faith—this period, extending beyond the close of his twenty-sixth year, was far from barren or idle. He had left behind him the masters and maxims of the theological schools, and could now look upon them and their results from a point without the immediate circle of their influence. What the years at Tubingen could do towards making him a churchman and theologian had been accomplished. He now sat down to review their work. Aleady, he had actually "preached"—how often or snccessfully need not be too closely enquired. Two of his "texts" must at present suffice to gratify the reader's curiosity, if any he may have, in this particular. In January, 1792, he delivered a sermon based upon these words: "For your shame ye shall have double; and for confusion they shall rejoice in their portion; therefore in their land they shall possess the double: everlasting joy shall be unto them. For I, the Lord, love judgment, I hate robbery for burnt-offering; and I will direct their work in truth, and I will make an everlasting covenant with them."—Isaiah, 61: 7, 8. And on the second Sunday after Trinity, in 1793, he spoke from the first sixteen verses of the fifth chapter of Matthew, including "the beatitudes," and four subsequent verses of the Sermon on the Mount.

It is worthy of notice, that while returning on his ecclesiastic tour and tendency of thought—which, in fact, adhered to him in some degree through life—he came to entertain greatly changed opinions during this brief abode at Berne, on matters strictly theological. He now, as Rosenkranz unhesitatingly says, "emancipated himself from the dead

thology of Tubingen." He began to accuse the age of false worship, and put himself at variance, "not, indeed, with the historical Christ, but surely with historical Christianity," almost contemptuously speaking of a certain "fantasy of Christianity," and "contrasting the legends of same with the Greek mythos," in express terms. He formed a scheme of Jewish history, from this point of view, as would seem, although his notions on the subject varied much at different times. In fact, it "troubled him as a dark enigma all his life time." Through many theological entanglements—combined resultants of his Tubingen studies and his own independent investigations—concerning "guilt and punishment, law and destiny, sin and pardon," here at Berne, "half unconsciously burst forth the philosophical genius of Hegel." He wrote a critical comparison of the character of Christ and Socrates, and again a life of Christ. This was nearly twenty years after the publication of the famous "Wolfenbuttel Fragments," and still longer subsequent to the date of Klopstock's "Messiah." Hegel was, indeed, busy, in these years of his Swiss sojourn, with theology still, but coming into settled contempt for philological, literal, materialistic exegesis, and manifesting active tendencies towards neology.

In addition to theology, he embraced in his studies of this period a wide range of historical investigation. He manifested ardent longings towards all kinds of moral and intellectual exploration. Yet Kant, of all German authors, influenced him most, and to him it was perhaps due that Hegel's mind was chiefly turned into the channel of abstruse philosophy. He both spoke and wrote the French language, while in Switzerland, and it is also noticeable that the French author for whom he showed the most marked predilection was Benjamin Constant. It is evident, however, that Fichte became his real master, the leading spirit, the *primum mobile* of his life-work in the sphere of philosophy.

Of his relations with Schelling, in this point of view, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. At present, reference need only be made to his correspondence with that youthful friend, while at Berne, both as showing the course to which his mind was inclining, and the reciprocal influence of each

on the other. This correspondence—the most unreserved and genial, if not, in fact, the most frequent and unaffected of all that ever passed between them—extended through the two years, from 1794 to 1796, and almost exclusively related to philosophical study. They have much to say of Kant and Fichte; and Hegel dwells with some minuteness on his deliberate and laborious attempts at mastering the latter. "From the system of Kant and its highest completion," he writes to Schelling: "I expect a revolution in Germany." And, in fact, it was to this "highest completion," begun by Fichte, that both these students were to devote their lives. "Reason and freedom," Hegel elsewhere says, "remain our watchward, and the *invisible church* our centre of union"—thus seemingly eliminating ecclesiasticism and the visible church; while he scruples not to rejoice at the progress of Kantism at Tubingen, and expresses his conviction that the much desired overthrow of "Orthodoxy" cannot happen, "so long as the profession of it is intimately connected with worldly advantage." Clearly, all hope of such a scoffer becoming a minister of the Established Church is at an end. These philosophers will aim rather to set up a new kingdom of ideas, revolutionizing both church and state by the quiet promulgation of their spiritual speculations.

One of his correspondents at this time was Holderlin, a university friend, who frequently wrote him from Jena, and of whom Hegel says, (addressing Schelling,) that he "is altogether enraptured with Fichte." Not only did this friend keep alive and stimulate his devotion to the works of that philosopher, the mastery of which evidently cost him much severe and persevering effort, but it was to the kind intervention of Holderlin also, that he owed, in the latter part of the year 1796, the opportunity of securing a situation as private tutor at Frankfort-on-the-Main. He removed thither about New Year's, 1797, remaining there until the close of the year 1800. Thus, as Rosenkranz delights to record, the cradle of Goethe's poetry was the birthplace of Hegel's philosophy. At the gymnasium his mind had devoured all sorts of reading without a clearly marked preference for any department of learning. At Tubingen, under the French

contagion for universal liberty, he was conspicuous as a devotee of republicanism. In Switzerland he was more exclusively a theologian and student of history, and at Frankfort he finally consecrated his life solely to that speculative impulse and faculty, which, already awakened under the study of Fichte at Berne, had now become strongly predominant in his mind. On the practical side, here and ever after, he chiefly inclined to political affairs. His appreciation of music was fine, and some poetical proclivities occasionally appear at this period. The specimens of his verse that are preserved, however, inspire little craving for more, though of course not wholly without merit.

Without here attempting any statement of his philosophical opinions, as they were unfolding in this their immature stage, it is enough to say that they were confessedly marked by a strong Platonic tendency, without as yet a trace of Aristotelian influence. At Frankfort he appears to have chiefly studied Plato and Sextus Empiricus. His development of a system was altogether gradual, lacking the remarkably rapid evolution which characterized his younger friend, Schelling, of whose writings he was now an eager student.

Hegel's father died in January, 1799, leaving him a small property. It was not until the next year, however, that the now rising philosopher removed to Jena. This place his biographer designates as "the philosophical El Dorado of that time." Fichte, having withdrawn from the university, in which he was a professor, on account of the charge of atheism, had gone to Berlin. Novalis and Tieck had recently died (in 1800). Schelling, who had been installed there as extraordinary professor, was now no longer the special wonder he had been, for the novelty, at least, was gone from his fluent and classic discourse. But young men flocked to Jena from all quarters, with longings to pursue a course of philosophy. Manifestly, philosophy was a superabundant element in the teachings of the university at this time. There was an extraordinary ambition, we are told, to be named professor, and a remarkable zeal for founding new periodicals. Such was the state of affairs when Hegel, in January. 1801, joined the fermenting crowd.

In the winter of 1801 he lectured on logic and metaphysics from three to four o'clock in the afternoon, to eleven auditors. The same subjects were announced for the winter of 1802, and a year later his course brought out his system of speculative philosophy in three parts: 1, Logic and Metaphysics, or Transcendental Idealism; 2, Philosophy of Nature; 3, Philosophy of Mind. In the winter ot 1804 he repeated the same course, his auditors numbering as high as thirty, and afterward varying from twenty to thirty. He first lectured on the History of Philosophy in the winter of 1805. He also lectured, during the same season, on Real Philosophy (nature and mind), and finally, for the first and last time, on Pure Mathematics. In the summer of 1805 he lectured on Natural Rights. In the summer of 1806 he repeated on Speculative Philosophy, adding Phenomenology and Logic, for the first time. The whole was repeated the following winter, and it is mentioned, as a curiosity, that among his auditors was a Greek from Constantinople.

It is conceded by Rosenkranz that Hegel considered himself as essentially agreeing with Schelling, at this time, and the latter is said to have had the same opinion concerning Hegel. They united in publishing the "Critical Journal of Philosophy" in 1802–3. In his contributions to this work Hegel, according to his biographer, manifested a nervous wit, appearing "now as *naive* irony. now as cutting satire, and now as absolute humor in manifold turns (*wendungen*), with inexhaustibleness of new and striking images."

Hegel's first enunciation of his system, in the ruggedness of its primitive conception, and in the academic form he had given it in his lectures, did not satisfy him, after a few years of lecturing experience. He set himself about the work of modifying the expression given to his philosophy, so as to popularize its presentation, which now assumed the following outlines: 1, Logic, or Science, of the Idea as such; 2, Natural Philosophy, or realization of the Idea, giving itself a body in Nature; 3, Moral Nature as Real Spirit; 4, Religion, the resumption of the All in One—the return to the first simplicity of the Idea. He also changed his terminology, earnestly striving after greater precision and clearness. It

is also noticeable that he employed Grecian mythological representations to aid his expression and to give it beauty.

Right here, let us say that from his enemies who perversely represent him as studying to make his work obscure and hard to understand, Hegel has suffered less than from affected friends who have laboriously interpreted him in the unintelligible. This is an "open secret" that may well excite the world's marvel. It is only the other day that we waded through page after page of a fresh expounder of Hegel, wherein was scarcely a sentence that was not untrue or unintelligible, and from all of which not the remotest gleam of Hegel's philosophy could be attained. Sir William Hamilton had much to answer for in his day for having given currency to the notion that whoever fancied himself to derive any meaning from the language of Hegel was a mere superficial tyro, and for setting ambitious explorers to delving for hidden meanings, when, in fact, all lies open and palpable before every vision that has any aptitude for philosophical study. We have a traditional recollection, which we cannot at this moment verify by reference to volume and page, of an alleged assertion by Sir William Hamilton, that Hegel having on one occasion delivered himself of certain profound propositions, was startled to find himself clearly understood by his hearers, and straightway set about wrapping up his thoughts anew in studied language of more than Delphic mystery! This is exactly reversing the German philosopher's uniform aims, as we have intimated above, on the authority of Rosenkranz, one of his devoted disciples. We find the following equally misguiding statement in one of the collections of Sir William Hamilton's miscellaneous papers: "I have never, in fact, met with a Hegelian (and I have known several of distinguished talent, both German and British), who could answer three questions without being driven to the confession that they did not, as yet, fully comprehend the doctrine of their master, though *believing* it to be all true.

* * Hegel himself, not long before his death, made the following declaration: 'I am downcast about my philosophy. For, of all my disciples, one only understands it, and he does not.' The one disciple, I presume, was Gabler; but

did Hegel understand himself?"* This is said by one who has passed with this generation for a profound metaphysician, who nevertheless declares, almost in the same breath, that the Hegelian "idea" is only a "myth." It is of course quite in vain for any man who has not a firm faith in "ideas," as well as in understanding of the sense in which the term is used by Hegel, to attempt to comprehend his philosophy. But we do not hesitate to say that to any one who is able to take this first step in all genuine philosophy, every sentence and every page is as clear and intelligible as the writings of the most perspicuous author in treating of any serious subject of contemplation whatever — Sir William Hamilton himself by no means excepted. It is impossible, of course, for any one who has never mastered arithmetic to have a clear understanding of algebra and geometry, and much less to become proficient in conic sections and the calculus.

Schelling's philosophy of nature had, at the period we have reached in Hegel's career, begun to have currency and prominence in philosophical literature. Hegel now felt constrained, according to Rosenkranz, to wage a "very decisive polemic against the degeneracy of this philosophy." From this time the lines were closely drawn between the systems of these two philosophic friends, hitherto apparently so closely united. Both had found a common impulse and inspiration from Fichte, who, in turn, had advanced Kantism another stage or two towards its ultimate results. Hegel attributed to Schelling's teachings the qualities of mysticism, Orientalism, and Böhmism, and condemned and exposed it as incompetent to arrive at any substantial product. Startling as the proposition may appear to a believer in Hamilton, he proclaimed for the CLEAR and the FIXED. He opposed the construction of philosophical terminology from Greek and Latin words, boldly claiming that it befits the highest cultivation of a people "to speak all things in their own language." While thus objecting to Schelling's terminology, it was admitted that he had expressed good sense and philo-

* Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, Harper's edition, p. 711, *note*.

sophical thought in these forms, but only because he had shown himself really free in their use, having, in almost every successive enunciation, employed a new terminology, though to the astonishment of the unknowing multitude. He exhibited some of Schelling's affectations, such as correlating length to magnetism, breadth to electricity, and saying, instead of *stout, corporeal*, "it belongs to the *third dimension;* in place of *sharp*, "it is the pole of concentration;" and for *the fish is too long*, "it stands under the scheme of magnetism." Hegel sounded the key-note of criticism on all modern philosophy, when, objecting to Fichte's "Wissenshaftlehre" and Schelling's Transcendalism as being speculative philosophy *purely for itself*, he added: "Fichte, as is well known, proceeded from the great, but one-sided, standpoint of the *consciousness*, the Me, the Subject, and this has made for him a free working-out of results (ausfuhrung) impossible." And he appplied a similar test to Schelling.

Hegel and Schelling were three years and a-half together at Jena, from the beginning of 1801 to the summer of 1803. The Critical Journal of Philosophy was discontinued at the beginning of the last-named year, and before its close, Schelling entered the service of Bavaria, removing to Wurzburg. Impelled, perhaps, by the comparative loneliness in which he was left in regard to speculative matters, by Schelling's departure, Hegel now began to keep a "waste-book," in which he set down reflections of all sorts, extracts from works of philosophy and natural history, and notes of physic-scientific experiments made by himself. These latter related chiefly to Goethe's theory of colors. His philosophical extracts were mostly from German writers, now hardly remembered, and those on physical science related to all departments of nature, great and small, and were gathered from English and French as well as Gernan books. He added occasional comments on these excerpts, and made many notes relating to the methods of philosophy and the "universal fermentation" of the time. There were also studies of Homer and the tragedies. These fragments should not be dismissed without referring to his biographer's statement that they furnish evidence of a patriotic struggle in Hegel's mind, which chafed

over the political mishaps of Germany—now gushing forth in warm sympathy, and now in pungent irony—but "mostly expressed itself in a sad sarcastic tone. All emotions of the time vibrated in him."

When he came to lecture on the history of philosophy, in the winter of 1805–6, he became conscious of a unity, a progressive coherence and connection, in all philosophies. It was now, for the first time, that he came to regard universal history, we are told, from the standpoint of absolute knowing, and to see himself in a historical relation to preceeding philosophers. At the conclusion of this course of lectures, he spoke of the then present time in words which became famous and were often quoted as a motto: "There has commenced a new epoch in the world. The world-spirit seems at last to have succeeded in casting aside all foreign and opposing things, and comprehending itself as absolute spirits, to generate from itself what is opposite, and tranquility to hold the same in its power." It is easy to call this nonsense, or unintellibible nothing, but not so easy to grasp its meaning and then demolish as unsound the foundation on which it rests. The former will suffice for those who, having no inclination for philosophy, are wont to sneer at whatever they choose to term "metaphysics." The latter undertaking would properly have no place here, did our convictions lead us that way. This brings us to the threshold of what is distinctive in Hegel's philosophy, of which it would be simply absurd to attempt an exposition or synopsis in a brief essay like the present. It should be said in passing, however, for the benefit of those who are ready to silence the philosopher at the outset with the cry of pantheism, that he uses the term "world-spirit," not as synonymous with God, but as meaning no more nor less than humanity—mankind, the human race—in its totality. In another passage, Hegel himself has thus paraphrased part of the more concise expression quoted above:

> "We live in a momentous epoch, a period of fermentation, in which the spirit (of man) has taken a start (einen ruck gethan), has come out of its former state and gained a new one. The entire mass of previous forms, notions—the volume of the world—are loosened and fall

together, like images of a dream. A new march of the spirit onward is beginning. Philosophy has especially to hail its appearance and to reorganize it, whatever else, powerlessly opposing it, may cling to the past, while the most are listless spectators of its appearing."

It was now that Hegel launched out upon what he termed his "voyage of discovery"—an exploration, we may say, through the abysses of reflection, resulting in his "Phenomenology of Spirit," an idel history of consciousness. The working out of this essential basis of his independent system occupied his attention during the years from 1804 to 1806. We give the three chief divisions of this profound and elaborate treatise—a work to be mastered only by careful and protracted study, as it is true of all higher science and of every intellectual acquirement really valuable—namely: 1, Consciousness; 2, Spirit; and 3, Absolute knowing, as self-consciousness of absolute spirit. It was merely introductory to the main system—the "Philosophy of the Absolute." This was the last of Hegel's lecture seasons at Jena—terminating on the 18th of September, 1806.

Rosenkranz affirms that on the students, as a mass, our philosopher had no influence at all. But he had a small circle of admirers and adherents whose enthusiasm was aroused in an extraordinary degree, especially during the last years of Hegel's abode at Jena. In general, his peculiar style of philosophical speculation was looked upon with little favor at this time, some regarding it as not only practically useless, but also as morally dangerous. "The much-named, much-beloved Absolute," says his biographer, "was now certainly, for the majority, something very dark and chaotic —someting they rather wondered at than in fact understood." "That Hegel took snuff was sufficiently seen in his lecturings; but the great question was now raised whether he also smoked; and this they likewise proved on him, as he was once in company with Niethammer, and went into the kitchen to light a clay pipe." His lectures were read by candlelight in an auditorium of a rear building.

In these days he had many friends among natural philosophers, and pursued the study of natural science with zeal. He heard the lectures of Nckermann on Philosophy, potan-

ized with Schelver, experimented on Chemistry with his friend and countryman Seebeck, enlarged his knowledge of Medicine with Kastner, who specially loved him, and made a geological excursion in the Hortz mountains. In 1804, he was unanimously chosen Assessor of the Jena Mineralogical Society and a member of the Westphalian Society of Natural History at Brockhausen. He wrote to Schelling, November 16, 1803: "The Weimar theatre has as yet presented nothing new. Schiller is said to be writing William Tell." How Hegel was regarded by Goethe and Schiller is indicated by their correspondence. They recognized the depth of his speculations, but Goethe especially, to whom such studies were always foreign, regarded his modes of expression as too obscure and unintelligible. With the Schlegels, our philosopher had no intimate relations. It is said that about the year 1804, he was very near becoming, as Frederick Schlegel actually did, a convert to the Roman Catholic faith.

With his Swabian countrymen, he lived on excellent terms. When Paulus published his edition of Spinoza, the French translation was revised for him by Hegel.

Napoleonic war raged in Prussia in 1806, and it has been often enough said that Hegel completed his "Phenomenology of Spirit" to the music of the cannon of the battle of Jena. This is literally so far true that the last sheet of his treatise was sent to the printer, in order to comply with the exact terms of the contract, just when the attack on the city commenced. Its composition certainly had other inspiration than the thunders of Napolean, yet the completion might well have been associated, by an enthusiastic disciple (it was Gans in his obituary, who first spoke of it,) with the stirring martial events then culminating at Jena. In a letter to his friend Niethammer, dated Monday the 13th of October, 1806, the day on which the French took possession of Jena, and the Emperor Napoleon entered within its walls, Hegel said: "The Emperor—this mundane soul [Weltseele]—I saw riding out through the city on a reconnoissance. It is, in fact, a wonderful sensation to see such an individual, who, from one central point, sitting on a horse, grasps at the world and dominates over it."

In returning after a brief experience from the sphere of journalism, Hegel consented to become simply the rector of a gymnasium. As the "mundane soul" (Napoleon) restrained all free development in German universities, from their supposed dangerous tendencies, we are told that the gymnasium, which lacked this energetic supervision, now afforded the most promising theatre for earnest educational work. Besides, our philosopher was very much at home in the capacity of high school teacher, having shown a pedagogic tendency even in his boyish years, and served as a tutor in Switzerland, as we have before seen. Of his experience as a teacher at Nuremburg, during the several years following, we must not here delay long enough to speak.

We have hitherto contemplated Hegel only in a state of celibacy, to which the philosophers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were generally inclined, as Rosenkranz suggests, citing the examples of Bruno, Campanella, Des Cartes, Spinoza, Malebranche, Leibnitz, Wolf, Locke, Hume and Kant—Fichte being, in fact, the first celebrated philosopher who married. Schelling, Herbart, Wagner, and others followed his example. Hegel appeared to have nearly become a confirmed bachelor, much to the grief of his sister. Her joy was very great, therefore, when she heard of his intended marriage, which actually took place in 1811, when he had reached the mature age of forty-one. The biographer himself waxes eloquent on the subject:

"Hegel, the philosopher, who had become skilled in the science of all the past of our race, married into a wide-branching family which was rich in historic memories. Hegel, the simple commoner, married a patrician, a noble lady. Hegel, the critic, the hero of ideas, married a woman whose inner life was so tender, so ethereal, so full of restless mobility and of the play of fancy. But even this difference was balanced in the deep harmony of the consorted pair; or rather, their marriage was the constantly self-renewing equalization of these elements. He found in her, and she always in him, what they needed for the completing, the mutually renewing reciprocal action. It was Marie Von Tucker, of one of the oldest and most renowned families of Nuremburg, whose beauty, rare cultivation, and amiability enchained our rector with her everlasting bonds. This love raised such a glow and depth of emotion that, becoming a youth again, he on the 13th of April, 1811, addressed to Marie" a series of verses not translatable

here. "And as he had gained her sure promise, he 'stormed' on the 17th of April, 1811, in jubilating strains," which need not now be reproduced in halting English. "The reverence which Hegel felt before marriage, and the delight which he found in it, were religious in the strongest sense of the word." "A wedded life of twenty years crowned the attachment of these lovers with the most happy experience. The marriage was celebrated on the 16th of September, 1811."

Here he took a step in advance of his "Phenomenology," by the development of his "Logic," during the years 1812–16. His opinion of the importance of his philosophical studies, as well as of the true character of philosophy itself, is seen in the comparison, which he made at this time, of a cultivated people without metaphysics, to a highly adorned temple without a holy of holies.

On the 19th of October, 1816, he removed to Heidelberg, and resumed the work of lecturing on philosophy. It was here that he first brought out his entire system, as enunciated in his "Encyclopædia," for the use of his auditors. It embraced the whole course, delivered during the period from Michaelmas, 1816, to Easter, 1817. The first edition of this work bears date, May, 1817. He also undertook the editorship of the philosophical and philological divison of the Heidelberg *Jahrbncheru fur Literatur*. Among the articles which he contributed thereto was a review, in the first and second number for 1817, of the third volume of the collected works of Jacobi, which appeared in 1816. In the year 1802, he had passed a strong censure on the philosophy of Jacobi, but had taken no part in the controversy between the latter and Schelling. He did not now retract anything he had said in his former review, but he treated, with mildness the points in which he differed with Jacobi, and gave prominence to the relation of substance and subject, necessity and freedom, as the real problem. With great resoluteness, and in language entirely clear, according to Rosenkranz, he expressed himself on the side of personality, freedom and immortality. He declared that God is not a dead, but a living God; more than living, he is himself spirit and eternal life; as such his being cannot be abstract; but has the attributes of life, consciousness, personality and absolute knowing.

Among Hegel's friends in Heidelberg was Eschaurmayer,

brother of the person of that name who later became so zealous an opponent of the Hegelian philosophy. His friendships there, however, must have been few, and hardly worthy to be called genuine, much less cordial. In a letter to his wife, he wrote: "It is a saying in Heidelberg,—'Each one for himself, and God for us all.'" He was now more than ever given to deep and absorbing meditation, sometimes to such a degree as in Socratic abstraction, to lose sight of external things altogether. It is related of him, that one day, after a shower of rain, he crossed the public square toward the university, and left one of his shoes in the mud, without noticing the deficiency in his costume. From the beginning of the year 1818, it was becoming evident to him that he was only a sojourner in Heidelberg. The sands of Berlin, he came to think, afforded a more susceptible soil for philosophy than the romantic surroundings of Heidelberg.

At Berlin, accordingly, we find him opening a course of lectures, on the 22d of October, 1818. His fame had so grown that, early in the year, Minister Altenstein had corresponded with him in regard to renewing the professorship of philosophy in the university, which had formerly been held by Fichte, and the proffer of that chair, had been accepted. He now had an opportunity such as he must long have coveted, without any conscious and definite aspiration. He was here in a peculiarly philosophic atmosphere, while his direct relation to the state was another circumstance that gave his position importance, and influenced all his subsequent career. He at once introduced his own system as the philosophy of the University of Berlin. The Germans, in his view, were the chosen people of God in philosophy, and he was now the duly anointed head, and installed in the chief seat.

Prussia had been pre-eminently the home of the later German philosophy. Kant had been its founder. It had been enlarged by Fichte, whose successor at Berlin, Hegel, has been called its finisher. The latter, looking out from his eminence upon the intellectual world, indulged now the loftiest hopes and aspirations—less, we may believe, for himself, than for humanity, of which he felt that he was the chosen leader. Philosophy, he said plainly, "has taken refuge with

the Germans, and lives at length among them alone. To us is entrusted this sacred light, and we are called to keep, to nourish, and to watch over it, so that the highest possession which man can have, the self-consciousness of his being, shall not become dim and expire." "Whatever in life is true, great, and God-like, is such through *ideas:* the aim of philosophy is to comprehend these in their true form and universality."

His first prominent literary work at Berlin was an attempt to elaborate his philosophy of justice and of the state. This was first in the book-market in 1821, but the preface was finished on the 25th of June, 1828. On these subjects he leaned to the conservative side, opposing all demagogueism and especially the current "fanatically" liberal notions of liberty, equality, and fraternity; and favoring monarchy, with popular representation in two chambers, one being composed of hereditary and privileged nobles, as in England.

There could hardly be two men more utterly unlike than Goethe and Hegel, yet they retained for each other the mutual respect conceived years before. Hegel took great interest in the poet's theory of colors, and wrote in its defence. The unity of Hegel's speculation and Goethe's poetry was a formal dogma of the philosopher's disciples. The near coincidence of the birthdays of these two great men, on the other hand, we are told, gave their alleged spiritual relationship a mystical glow [schimmer], and afforded the poetical comrades of the Weimar-Berlin circle many felicitious materials for rhymed encomiums.

Rosenkranz affirms that in extending the essence of his political philosophy into religious matters, Hegel brought upon himself infinitely more hatred, censure, denunciation, and bitterness than by his work on Justice and the State. From this time onward, the theologians condemned him as a pantheist. His disciple, Heinrichs, furnished the occasion for this outbreak, for, having asked him to write a commendatory preface to his (Heinrich's) book "On Religion in its Inner Relations to Science." Hegel, after an extended correspondence, did so in April, 1822. He made this a vigorous polemic against "Theology of the Feelings" in general. He

carried out this attack in detail, as against the views and teachings of Schleiermacher, who then enjoyed great popularity in Berlin. He declared that Schleiermacher's fundamental propositions had no positive character. "Not revelation as an actual fact; not the doctrine of the church as a symbol; not the Bible as primitive sacred tradition; not the Spirit in the necessity and universality of its essence; but the *empirical subject* was raised to a principle." It was Schleiermacher's peculiarity, in part, that he freed himself from the outwardly historic, in which he was, in truth, internally in accord with Hegel. The former regarded thinking as only an instrument to bring his feeling into order, while Hegel held that thinking was the principle of all science, theology included. He gave great offence by the strength of some of the expressions used in combatting Schleiermacher. The latter had based his religion on the *feelings of dependence.* This feeling Hegel pronounced to be "purely animal"—sarcastically adding that, in so far as the absolute feeling of dependence was the essence of Christianity, *the dog was the best Christian.* This brought a storm about his ears, and was never forgiven by the friends and followers of Schleiermacher, whose influence the phrase has survived.

We pass hastily over what Rosenkranz tells us of the philosopher's relations to art and æsthetics in Berlin. When he went to that city he had completed "the hervie work of his life," and this brought a greater earnestness into "an æsthetic Epicureanism." A "positive Hegelianizing art-criticism arose." The art riches of Berlin—its art galleries of all kinds—aroused his love of art in the highest degree. "He became passionately fond of music; for painting he had an innate perception; in poetry he was, above all, at home; and for architecture and sculpture, he had the cleverest susceptibility, which he constantly endeavored to cultivate." "He has, in his Æsthetics, elaborated the most solid judgments upon almost all the more important artists and works of art." "The æsthetic interest was at that time the only public one in Berlin. A political one did not exist."

Hegel's position seems now to have been a peculiarly happy one. He moved in a genial society, and appears to

have been quite sufficiently lionized, though not disagreeably so. He was a favorite with Berlin ladies. His conversation was without pedantry. His table-talk was chiefly of art, so that every one present might take part therein; his vocal organs were unfavorable for fluency of speech; and his expression was neither smooth nor elegant. He never quite got rid of his Swabian dialect. In talking, he constantly gesticulated with his hands and arms. He had great force of passionate rage and fury, and when he once felt constrained to hate, he did so as thoroughly as old Dr. Johnson could have wished. He was also fearful [*furchterlich*] in scolding. He had a certain egotistic restlessness, a bustling opposition at times, an obstinacy—a *tyranny*, as the Berliners used to name it. This was the darker side of his social relations, not to be overlooked in the briefest view.

He travelled with his family, in 1819, on the island of Rugen. In 1820, with his family and with Foster, he visited Dresden and Saxon Switzerland. In 1822, he went to the Netherlands; in 1824, to Vienna; in 1826, to Paris; and in 1829, through Weimar and Jena to Carlsbad and Prague. This tour through Bohemia was the last grand journey which he ever made, and was memorable for his visit to Goëthe, then eighty years old, and for his unexpected meeting with Schelling, as he stopped for a day at Carlsbad. To his correspondents, he wrote pleasantly of the five days he had spent with Schelling, in old, cordial friendship. He had also met with Victor Cousin, in his visit to Paris in 1826. Throughout his youth, as we have partly indicated, Hegel had a warm sympathy with the French nation. In turn, Cousin had become interested in the great German philosopher, and sympathized with aim in the struggle over the hegemony in philosophy between him and Schelling. The French philosopher ("of the Scotch school," as Rosenkranz classifies him) made a tour through Germany in 1817–18. as travelling companion for a son of the Duke of Montebello, and stayed several weeks at Heidelberg, eagerly conversing with Hegel. Thus a friendly relation was established between them, which continued through Hegel's life. Cousin dedicated the fourth part of his edi-

tion of Proclus, in 1821, to Hegel and Schelling, as "*Amicis et magistris, philosophiæ præsentibus ducibus.*" In 1826, he dedicated to Hegel his translation of Plato's Gorgias. Two years previously, while on a tour in Germany, Cousin had spent some time in Berlin, living in the friendliest intercourse—"philosophically most fruitful"—with Hegel and some of his disciples, especially Gans, Hotho, Von Henning, and Michelet. From this time there was continuous correspondence between them, and Hegel's favors were reciprocated by Cousin, when the former visited Paris. This friendly relation, the biographer records, was not destroyed even after the July revolution, and when Cousin had become a peer, and one of the ministry. The latter consulted constantly with Hegel, while preparing his editions of the Greek philosophers, and earnestly hoped, but in vain, for a criticism of his *Fragmens Philosophiques* from Hegel, which should make him known in Germany. This wish was fulfilled by Schelling, though not until 1833, in the *Bavarian Annals.* The French philosopher, in his correspondence, speaks in the highest terms of veneration and affection of Hegel's philosophy. In one of his letters, he mentions the circumstances of his first acquaintance with Hegel, and how he said on returning to France: "I have found a man of genius." This was at a time when Hegel had little renown, and generally passed for a disciple of Schelling.

Hegel lectured, for the first time, on the philosophy of history in the winter of 1822–3, and for the fifth and last course in 1830–31. These lectures gained him much popularity with the general public, whose favor he seems to have made it a special study to win. Through these lectures, still more than by those on Æsthetics and the Philosophy of Religion, we are told, he nurtured an interest in studies of the Orient, and thus supported the poetic strivings of Goëthe, Ruckert, Platen and Hammers, whose Hafiz poetry, whose Arabian lyrics, and other forms of Eastern verse, were adapted to break up the torpidity and sybaritism of the age. He studied Oriental culture with enthusiasm, and especially Indian philosophy and Persian mysticism. Even Tholuck took an interest in these studies, and was not insensible to

the pantheism of the East, and its sublime sacrifice of the Individual to the Universal and Absolute.

"Hegel," says his disciple, "had now imperceptibly come to be a great power in Berlin, and indeed in Prussia. It was the fashion to hear him. Men of all ranks frequented his lectures. Students from all parts of Germany, from all European nations, Poles especially, but also Greeks and Scandanavians, sat at his feet, and listened to his magic words, which he, fumbling among the papers on his desk, coughing, taking snuff, repeating himself, laboriously uttered. The depth of the contents filled the souls of his auditors, and set them a-glow with the purest enthusiasm. That some attended his lectures from motives of mere self-interest, is to be supposed. People saw, as before intimated, in becoming Hegelians, or in the appearance of being such, a means of place-gaining. They hoped to recommend themselves effectively, thereby, not only to Hegel, but also to the counsellors and to the minister himself. But with the majority, the enthusiasm was sincere, and under its influence the Berlin University passed through one of its fairest epochs."

The enthusiastic school of our philosopher had its morbid eruptions of extravagant eulogy, in prose and in verse. Great expectations were indulged, proclaimed, and exagerated by mutual stimulation. They celebrated in Hegel a new Socrates, then an Alexander of the spirit-world, and then a speculative world-creating Brahma. Some even got so far as to reverence him as a "philosophical redeemer of the world." A grand notion with these disciples seems to have been that they were attaining certainty instead of belief, knowledge in place of opinion. As one of their rhymes expressed it:

> "A new day is beginning,
> The old surely dies,
> And to the grave goes Seeming,
> And Knowing will arise."

The light of Hegelianism, it was fondly hoped, would speedily illuminate France and all western Europe—which anticipation was but poorly realized, as would appear from the curt allusions of Rosenkranz, in concluding what he says of

the relations of Cousin to Hegel. The birthday eulogiums on Hegel, in 1826, were the culmination of this hitherto growing tendency to render him worship as a demigod. His biographer records the fact with a sigh that "everything in this world has its epoch."

Hegel was concerned in founding a critical journal in 1827, called the "Berliner Jahrbuch für Kritik." The State having failed to respond to Hegel's wishes in this regard, Cotta, the famous publisher, undertook its publication. Hegel's co-laborers in this work were Varnaghen Von Ense, Marheineke the theologian, Schultze the physiologist, Boeckh and Bopp, philologists, and Hotho the æsthetic. The general management first undertaken by Gans, and afterwards by Leopold von Henning. Meanwhile, Hegel saw his philosophy and its language gradually extending through Europe. At Paris, Cousin was then in sympathy with him, and he had followers, or at least friends, in Van Ghert and Seber at Brussels; Dr. Kiehl at the Hague; Heiberg at Keil, afterwards at Copenhagen; Tengström, Sundwall, and Lauvell (teaching the Hegelian philosophy in the Swedish language) in Finland; and others. Such an extension opened a grand "perspective in the future" for Hegel's work, yet with the promise also of sharp encounters with adversaries, and to meet these, such an organ as the Jahrbucher was needed. Hegel wrote for it in the first year, an article on the Bhagavat-Gita, in review of W. von Humboldt on the Indian Religion. A second contribution was on Solger's posthumous writings and correspondence, and yet another was published in the same year, on Hamanu. One of the most memorable of all his articles for this periodical, was that, written in 1829, on the "Aphorisms on Absolute Knowing and Not-Knowing," a work by Councillor-of-Justice Gëschel. This article contains a distinct avowal of faith in Christianity—if there were otherwise, indeed, any doubt as to Hegel's commitment on the subject. About this time he also wrote his "Proof of the Being of God," in which is shown, in an indubitable way, his belief in a personal God. Rosenkranz, however, chooses the word "subject," in place of "person," as applied to the Deity. Hegel's last two crit-

iques, in 1831, were devoted to the elements which were afterward most energetic against his philosophy, to wit, the views of Schelling and those of Herbart.

Hegel became rector of the Berlin University in 1830, the same year in which the July revolution occurred in France, and in which the adoption of the Augsburg Confession was celebrated (June 25) by the German Protestants. In his inaugural oration, Hegel spoke of the *sola fides justificat* of the Confession, as the *Magna Charta* of Protestantism.

The English Reform Bill discussions, in 1831, awakened in him the lively interest in political affairs which he felt in other days. Strange to say—at least had we not seen how, since his Berlin advancement especially, conservative and monarchical tendencies had grown upon him; he leaned strongly to the side of kingly autocracy—he was decidedly opposed to increasing the power of the people by an extension of the elective franchise.

In 1831, the Asiatic cholera made its appearance at Berlin. Hegel's family withdrew from the city to Kreuzberg, to be followed by him as soon as the holidays began. Hence it happened that his birthday (August 27th) was celebrated outside of the city, only a few of his friends joining him on that occasion, in a cheerful repast, and in lively converse, at a pleasure ground near Kreuzberg. It was an entertainment which afforded much enjoyment to all. Hegel's sons sympathized with his quiet and happy emotion. Scarcely had coffee been served, after the champagne, when a fearful thunder-storm arose, which speedily terminated the festivities. As autumn came on he resumed his labors, completing the preparation of a new edition of his "Logic," the preface to which bears date November 7th. He also began his lectures in the city, though the cholera was still prevailing, and spoke with more ardor than usual, "transporting" all who heard him.

We have dwelt thus particularly on the birthday celebration of this year, because it was his last. Never was the news of any death more sudden and unexpected, than that of Hegel. On the anniversary of the death of Leibnitz, November 14, 1831, at the close of day, Hegel expired. On

Sunday, the 13th, at 11 o'clock in the morning, he was attacked by cholera, in its most virulent form, and the fatal termination came at a quarter past five in the evening, on Monday. His family were about him to the last, and his death was easy and calm. On Wednesday, he was buried, and his disciples, Marheineke and Forster, spoke at his grave. His sister, Christine, long years before disappointed in love, and for some time past living apart from him, died by suicide, the following February—a broken-hearted sufferer. Great was the shock to all Germany, and deep the sorrow of all of Hegel's scholars everywhere, on learning that he was no more.

Thus, rapidly and lightly touching upon some of the more prominent points of the philosopher's career in life, and never more than pausing for a moment at the threshold of his philosophy. We have at length seen him laid by the side of Fichte, to rise no more to the work of this world. Gladly would we add to the illustrations of his character, and to the aphorisms and words of his philosophy already given, were it not unreasonably to prolong our article. And beyond this still remains the labor we have not attempted here, of assigning to Hegel his place, in our estimate, among the generations of philosophers, and of weighing the value of his endeavors in the past, or their present and prospective influence. We are no partisans of his—much less are we his indiscriminate worshippers. But we have failed in our purpose, if it does not appear, from what we have written, that Hegel was no mere idle dreamer, wasting his life among abstractions, unintelligible to the world; but a practical, sincere man, writing to be understood, aiming to elevate and educate the race, and exerting a rare power and influence upon cultivated men, as well as enjoying the friendship and esteem of the most eminent men of his time.

ART. VII.—*Monthly Magazines, Weekly Papers, and other Periodicals.* New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c. 1868.

VERILY, we Americans are a wonderfully "fast" people, although it is ourselves that say it most. Nowhere else is

old Father Time outstripped as he is with us. Our European rivals deny that we are a modest people; and yet we are constantly performing miracles, while we as constantly maintain that the age of miracles is past—nay sometimes deny that there ever was such an age! If this be not modesty, we should like to know what is. In other countries, neither January nor May, nor any other month, cold or warm, arrives until it is regularly due, as set down in the almanacs; but in our country each arrives at least a fortnight in advance, provided no serious accidents occur. Even in this case there can only be a few exceptions; for though it may still be only autumn on one corner of the street, it is far advanced in winter on another, and Winter though a premature birth, laughs at Autumn, because he, too, did not come into the world before his time!

Everybody knows that an American magazine which does not see the light some weeks in advance must be a dull, slow affair. Thus, while we write this line, towards the middle of December, we see before us a dozen of January magazines, the majority having "records of the month." Even the wonders of the telegraph cannot approach this; no operator that we have ever heard of could send a January telegram, even to his beloved one, in the middle of December.

This, naturally suggests the question, Have we prophets amongst us? Our answer is,—Must we not regard the editor of every one of the monthlies before us, somewhat in that light? But we read that in the olden time, there were, at least, two kinds of prophets, the true and the false. Perhaps it is the same at the present day; if so, in which category shall we place our prophetic confrères?

Before attempting to decide so grave a question, let us take some notice of the circumstances in which they are placed. If the public will only hear those who pretend to have the prophetic gift, what is the honest story teller to do? We are bound to remember that he cannot afford to be out of work more than the industrious chambermaid, who, in order to get employment, when in need of it, where "no Catholic need apply," presents herself as an orthodox

Protestant, armed with a copy of King James's Bible, as a voucher for her good faith.

There have been thoughtless, fantastic people at all times, and whenever there is a preponderance of them, they must be allowed, like other majorities, to have things pretty much as they want them, though it is ten to one that it will not be the right way. Honest Dick Steel was not long acting as editor, when he learned that, for a certain class of mortals, even the *semblance* of novelty is the chief attraction. "It is incredible to think," he says, "how empty I have in this time observed some part of the species to be, what mere blanks they are when they first come abroad in the morning; how utterly they are at a stand, until they are set a-going by some paragraph in a newspaper. Such persons are very acceptable to a young author, for *they desire no more in anything* but to be *new* to be agreeable."*

Neither Addison nor Steele took much pains to satisfy this class, for they frequently issued two Spectators together† —the second being late as well as the first; whereas not one number of that famous work was ever issued before the date marked upon the face of it. The "Tattler," commenced in Ireland, by Steele, and numbering among its contributors Swift, Addison and Parnell, purported to appear on three particular days of the week, but it appeared nearly, if not quite as often, on the intervening days. If it ever appeared

* The Spectator, No. 4.

† Probably some of our readers are aware that our humble selves have been accused of issuing two numbers of the "National Quarterly Review" together. An evening journal of this city that claims to be high authority in literature fancied it made itsef very witty in announcing this discovery in its notice of our last September number. Most persons of ordinary intelligence, not to mention critics, are aware that two or more numbers of a periodical constitute a volume, and that a title page, indicating that fact, is given in every second or third number, as the case may be. Every two numbers of our journal make a volume of over 400 pages; accordingly the title page to volume XVII. embracing, as stated, the numbers for June and September, is given in the latter. This is quite sufficient for our sagacious afternoon critic, who, without waiting for a moment to think, proclaims that we issued no number in June, but included the June and September numbers in one issue! Having thus made a statement which thousands could prove to be utterly false, he imagines he has hit on a capital stroke of humor, and one that would overwhelm us, when he suggests that in future "The National Quarterly Review," should be called "The Half-Yearly Review." It is perfectly consistent that the Aristarchus who criticises after this fashion, should be in ecstasies with the magazines published some weeks *in* advance of their time. Accordingly we have not complained, though well aware that his employers—who are men of intelligence, not prone to misrepresentation—would not hesitate to make the *amende honorable*.

in advance we have no record of the fact. And thus we could mention all the most celebrated journals of the old world, and ask the most learned and curious of our readers to point out a single one that thought it derived any virtue [illegible] me into the world in advance of its

It was rather the opinion then that untimely births are not good; that those born before the full period of gestation is completed, are apt to be puny, feeble and short-lived. It is true that formerly too, a certain class of papers issued in December purported to be January or February papers, such as drafts for money on banks which did not contain any money at the time those drafts were drawn, and might possibly be in the same predicament weeks or months later. But even drafts and checks were deemed more valuable when they bore the date of the day and month on which they were issued, than when they bore a fictitious date; and if we are not mistaken this notion is not entirely exploded at the present day. For our own part if we got a check to-day for money due to us we should much rather find it dated, December 12, 1868, than January 1, 1869; and if the drawer told us that the latter date enhanced its value by adding to its "freshness" we confess we should either have some doubts of his honesty, or think he must be more or less affected by the moon.

So far as the thing itself is concerned, is it not nearly as easy to set down a future date as the present date? Thus, supposing we issued this journal to-day, or a week hence, would it not be as cheap for us to print January on the face of it, as December? And if we may use to-day the date, January, 1869, why not the date 1890? Do we know any more about the one than we do about the other? At any rate do we make January work of Decemher work by labeling it "January?" If so a house or a monument erected in 1868, may be dated 1869, or 1890; a hen old enough to endanger one's teeth in the eating may be labelled "spring chicken," &c. But what would be said of the hotel keeper who pretended to send chickens to the table fully cooked before they are hatched? Supposing an epicure enters who

is in a hurry, and addresses "mine host," in the middle of December, "I want something good and nice," and he is told in reply, "We can give you the very best—will you have some January chicken?" If the epicure had any knowledge of physiology, or of the phenomena produced by incubation, is it not likely that he would prefer waiting for the January chicken until January came? The hotel keeper might, indeed, say that the article is "fresh" now, and would be "stale" in January when the full period of incubation was completed; but would this be satisfactory?

The ladies are said to be very silly, because they represent themselves as having come into the world more recently than they really did; but it is natural for them to cling even to the semblance of youth, as long as possible; since a large proportion of them, if not the majority, have to depend chiefly for the influence they exercise among men, on those charms which are effaced by time. Associating increasing years with the gradual loss of their attractions, after they have attained a certain age, it is not at all to be wondered at that they wish to be considered younger than they are. "I should wish to be a beautiful young lady," says la Bruyère, "from my thirteenth to my twenty-second year, and after that age to become a man."* This explains the whole affair, and fully justifies the ladies for wishing to be considered younger than they are. But although the ladies have thus good reason to attach much importance to youth and "freshness," who has ever heard of an honest lady that wished to be delivered of her child a month, a week, or even a day before its time? That some women have such wishes is very true; but are they the right kind?—are they such as we wish our wives and daughters to associate with?

But this comparison may be presented in another form. Every corporeal being that has life, as well as woman, must grow old and die; whereas ideas are supposed to be immortal. Surely they must be puny, not to say worthless, ideas that would die, or even grow stale, in a week or two.

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* J'ai vu souhaiter d'être fille, et une belle fille, depuis treize ans jusqu' à vingt-deux, et après cet âge de devenir un homme.—*Les Caractères de La Bruyere*, chap. iii.

Transitory as woman's charms are, they last longer than this, even under the most unfavorable circumstances. But in the name of common sense, why is a love story, a murder story, or any other story, anything the better for being dated "January," than it would be if dated "December?" What benefit does an historical sketch of the times of Charles I. or Louis XIV. derive from being dated January, more than if it were dated December? Could we not wait another week or two for the information it contains, as patiently as we did the rest of our lives?

But the most absurd and ridiculous attempt of all, is to comment in December on the current events of January. If this is impossible; if after all, no events can be discussed as current in December, but such as are so, does not the fact of labelling those events "January," rather tend to make them "stale" than "fresh?" This has been illustrated but too ludicrously during the late presidential election, when magazines and weekly papers, purporting to have been published after the result was known to the inhabitants of the most obscure hamlet in the United States could only speak of it as if it were still in the womb of the future.

Supposing the most important occurrences take place to-day, in what magazines could they be even alluded to? Surely not in a December one, since that was published more than a month ago—about the middle of November. It would be equally impossible to notice them in a January magazine which was published at least a week ago; so that if a revolution took place this afternoon, at Washington, or Albany, or if an earthquake occurred that destroyed half New York, Boston, or Philadelphia, we might not expect to find one word about it in any earlier magazine than the February number! The most important annual reports, issued in the middle of December, must wait for the same number; if they were issued on the first day of December, the earliest number in which they could be noticed would be that for January; whereas the reports issued in the middle of January, or earlier, have to wait for the criticism of our monthlies until the *March* numbers are "ready."

The truth is, that no work worth printing, as an intellec-

tual production, has ever lost any of its value, or "freshness," for being laid aside a few weeks. It is the most valuable that have been so laid aside in all ages. The Homeric poems were but little known until Pisistratus caused them to be collected and transcribed; they were so old at this time—five hundred years before Christ—that no one could tell when they were written. Yet they were not stale in any sense, nor are they to-day, more than two thousand years later! Does the date alter the value of the works of Dante, Shakspeare, or Milton? if it does, is it not by making the older editions the most valuable? Paradise Lost had been rejected by several publishers before the author could get any one to give him even £5 for it. More recently Oliver Goldsmith was unable to procure the most ordinary necessaries of life, while his admirable Vicar of Wakefield lay beside him, as if it were waste paper; and it might have lain there for years longer, had Dr. Johnson not gone in person to procure a publisher for it. Gray's Elegy, De Foe's Robinson Crusoe, Corneille's Polyeucte, and many other celebrated works we could mention, were little thought of when "fresh" or "new." If the productions of the intellect that possess any value, do not, like good wine, improve by time, at least they no more suffer from time than gold does. It is only productions that have but a fictitious value, that degenerate in this way.

We hold, however, that our confrères have a perfect right to issue their journals as far in advance as they choose. If it be their good will and pleasure to label the numbers they issue in January, "March," or even "August," we shall have no complaint to make; nor shall we have any fault to find with those kind and obliging critics, who about the same day every month inform their readers so approvingly, that Smith's magazine, for next month, is "now ready." Even when they do so, after having previously given long extracts from the "advanced sheets," with an intimation that all the gems may be had *in extenso*, in a few days, we shall not grumble in the least.

All we ask is, that we be allowed equal liberty ourselves. We are not prophets; nor do we care to be "fast"—except

when on horseback. We have, therefore, never pretended to issue our journal before the time mentioned on the face of it; nor shall we in the future. In our first prospectus we promised to issue the work in March, June, September, and December, respectively, and accordingly there never has been a number of it issued on any other month, earlier or later.

Some have regarded us as slow on this account. There are those who think us "late," because we do not issue our September number in August, our December number in November, &c., &c., although not one of our subscribers or patrons has ever reproached us with being one or the other. The reason is, that both are not merely intelligent; they are persons who think as well as read. Such do not expect journalists, more than other sinners, to perform miracles; they know that if we are slow and late, because we do not pretend to outstrip Time, the editors of the greatest periodicals in the world are slow and late.

Thus, for example, if it be asked which is the ablest and most famous periodical in Europe, the general reply will be "The Edinburgh Review." We cheerfully admit, not only that this is the reputation it has always enjoyed, but that it has eminently deserved it. No periodical anywhere has done more good, yet according to a certain class of our critics, it is "always late," since a number of it has never been published before the month mentioned on the face of it. Sometimes it has been published at the beginning of the month, sometimes in the middle, and sometimes towards the close: nay, there have been occasions when it did not appear until the opening of the following month. Then, indeed, it was admitted to be late, but none pretended that it was a whit the less interesting, or the less valuable on this account.

Incredible though it may appear to the class alluded to, its editors have always claimed the right to delay it a week, two weeks, or three weeks, according as the public interest seemed to warrant them in doing so. Every one acquainted with the history of that celebrated periodical is aware that it has often been delayed two or three weeks for an important debate, a general election, or the ratification of an im-

portant treaty, &c. But it is only necessary to glance at the work as printed at home in order to see what little importance its conductors attach to the difference of a few days, or even weeks, in the time of its publication. In each number of several volumes now before us, which have been published at intervals of years, it is announced at the close of the reading matter, that the number for the ensuing quarter will be issued some time during the first month of that quarter; thus at the close of the January number we read, "No. CXXVII. will be published in April;" at the close of the April number, "No. CXXVIII. will be published in July," &c., &c.

We mention the "Edinburgh," however, only as an example; all the other great periodicals of Europe, including those of Paris, Berlin, Vienna and Florence, pursue the same course. There is not a city of any extent in Europe, or America in which the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, or the *Revue Contemporaine* has not subscribers, but never does either attempt to outstrip time a single day, for the purpose of increasing its "freshness," or diminishing its "staleness."

ART. VIII.—1. *Storia degli antiqui popoli italiani.* MICALI, Rome.

2. *Annales de l' Institut de correspondanee archeologique de Rome.*

3. *Die Etrusker.* K. O. MULLER, Breslau.

4. *Alphabetum veterum Etruscorum.* AMADUZZI, Rome.

5. *Saggio di lingua etrusca e di altre antiche d' Italia.* LANZI, Rome.

6. *On the Antiquities discovered in Etruria.* By C. MULLIGAN, London.

OF all the ancient nations of Italy none appears to have such claims upon our notice as that of the Tuscans. Their celebrity at a time when Rome as yet had no existence, the superiority of their political institutions, their progress in navigation, commerce, and many other arts of civilized life, when the surrounding nations were all enveloped in ignorance and barbarism, are circumstances which even at the

present day, must excite inquiry, and command alike the attention of the historian and the philosopher. Whence this improvement in civilization, this rapid advancement in political growth, is a question which immediately suggests itself to every inquirer, and for which he seeks in vain for an answer in the scanty fragments of antiquity, which shed but a faint and glimmering light on the annals of this singular and illustrious people.

So evident, indeed, has the insufficiency of historical information on the origin of the Tuscans appeared, that many antiquaries of celebrity in the last century, despairing of obtaining any clue from the conflicting testimony of ancient writers, have not hesitated to quit altogether the beaten track of history, and to venture amidst the alluring mazes of conjecture. The consequence of this mode of investigation was easy to be foreseen; system followed system, till there scarcely remained any nation of acknowledged antiquity, to which the honor of having colonized Etruria was not ascribed.

Thus it was supposed that the Tuscans might be descended from the Egyptians,* the Canaanites,† or the Phœnicians.‡ Others, again, contended for their Celtic§ origin. The multiplicity of these opinions is the best proof of the little dependence that is to be placed on systems which trust for support to conjecture alone. The records of history, even where they seem most to fail us, will be found a safer and surer guide than reasoning which is founded on mere assumption and hypothesis. It is, then, with the united aid of history, and conjecture used with moderation, that we shall endeavor to feel our way through this intricate subject; and there are three sources from which we derive information respecting the origin of ancient Tuscany, viz.: The accounts of Greek writers, those of the Romans, and the existing national monuments discovered in Etruria.

With respect to the Romans, it is well known that they concerned themselves little about inquiries into the origin of

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* Dempster. Italia antiqua, lib. i. p. 79. † Maffei. Degli Italia prim., p. 218-223.

‡ Swinton. De Lingua Etruria, p. 92. § Pelloutier. Hist. des Celtes, lib. i. p. 178.

nations, but received without much examination all the accounts, even of the early population of Italy, which were transmitted to them by the Greeks, their masters in every species of literature; so that little original information can be derived from them in an inquiry which is to be traced considerably higher than the foundation of their city. The evidence which is supplied by the inscriptions and coins of Etruria, respecting the origin of its inhabitants has hitherto done little towards settling the question; and since the age of their monuments, which had been greatly exagerated, has been proved by able judges* to be posterior to the commencement even of the Roman republic, we are obliged to seek among the historians and poets of Greece for the earliest records of Etruscan history.

If we are to credit the famous Lydian tradition recorded by Herodotus, that ancient people ought to be considered as the parent stock of the Tyrrhenians. According to their accounts a great famine arose in Lydia during the reign of Atys, one of the earliest kings; when it had lasted for several years, it was at length determined that the nation should divide itself into two parts, under the respective commands of Lydus and Tyrrhenus, the two sons of Atys; one of which was to migrate, the other to remain in possession of the country. It fell to the lot of Tyrrhenus to abandon Lydia with the people under his charge. He accordingly equipped a fleet in quest of a country to settle in; when, after passing by various nations and countries, he finally arrived among the Umbri, where he founded several cities, which the people, who from him were called Tyrrhenians, occupied up to the time of Herodotus, who simply delivered this account as he received it from the Lydians.

Freret† has observed, that the Lydians were never considered as a maritime people; and, at any rate, that the art of navigation at the period which we ought to assign to the Lydian colony, according to the acconnt of Herodotus, must have been quite in its infancy. With regard to this objec-

* Lanzi. Saggio di Lingua Etrusca, iii. 38.
† Freret, Mem. de l' Acad., xviii. 91.

tion it is remarkable, that in the naval epochs of Castor,* we find the Lydians mentioned as an early maritime power. It is evident that the art of navigation had already attained to a certain degree of perfection before the siege of Troy, but we cannot admit so late a period as this for the Tyrrhenian migration, since the existence of the Tyrrhenian Italy before the siege of Troy, appears to be placed beyond a doubt.

Not to mention the Phœnicians, who in the most remote ages are known to have navigated every part of the Mediterranean sea, as well as other seas, we find that Minos, King of Crete, had a powerful navy for that age, and made expeditions into Sicily and Italy.† The insignia of royalty, such as the curule chair and purple robe, which the Romans borrowed from the Tuscans, are recognized by Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, himself, as Lydian badges of honor; and the eagle standards of Rome, also originally Tuscan, appear to have been common to the armies of Persia.‡ The comic dancers of Etruria, called Ludii, were celebrated for their agility and grace; and according to Val. Maximus, who mentions their introduction at Rome, they derived this talent from the Curetes and Lydians. It is also remarked that divination and augury, which form so leading a distinction in the religion of Etruria, took their rise in Caria, according to Pliny. The superstitious practice of divining from the inspection of the livers of victims, obtained in Asia, at a very early period, being alluded to by the prophet Ezekiel,§ where Grotius observes, that the Lydians had probably derived this practice from the Chaldeans, and had transmitted it to the Tuscans.

It is a fact sufficiently established on good authority, that the Greeks were acquainted with a people whom they called Tyrrhenians, but whose geographical position was very different from that of their Italian namesakes. Thucydides has noticed them in the Chalcidic region, near mount Athos;

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* A Greek of Marseilles, who flourished under the Ptolomies, and wrote on the nations who in ancient times were masters of the sea.

† Herodotus, vii., 169. ‡ Xen. Anab., i. 10. § C. xxⁱ, v. 21.

and described them as the Tyrrheni, who once dwelt in the island of Lemnos.* From other sources we learn, that these Tyrrheni, or Pelagi, as they are often called, had built for the Athenians the wall which surrounded their acropolis; but being afterwards driven out of Attica, are said to have retired to the island of Lemnos and Imbros.† The father of Pythagoras is said to have been one of these Tyrrhenians.

Here, then, is sufficient evidence of the existence of the Tyrrheni as a people, known to the Greeks, under that specific appellation, though they are frequently designated by the generic name of Pelasgi; and if we admit that it was this people, which at an early period migrated from Thrace and the north of Greece into Italy, there will be found no better system for reconciling the various and contradictory opinions which have been entertained on this point of history by many writers, both in ancient and modern times.

Where historical records fail, the analysis of language is the only clue, it must be allowed, which can enable us to trace the origin of ancient nations with any probability of success; but when the results are so much at variance with each other, much doubt must, of necessity, attach to the process by which those results have been obtained. The knowledge of the ancient languages of Italy, of which the Latin must be considered as a dialect only, though it became the prevailing one, is comparatively of recent date. The Etruscan alphabet, the characters of which are the same as that of the Umbrian and Oscan dialects, had not been identified and made out with certainty till within the last fifty years; for the inscribed monuments of these people being rare and scanty, it has been a work of time as well as of great industry and sagacity, to draw any well established conclusion from them. These two last qualities, we think eminently displayed in the learned work of Lanzi, on the Etruscan and other dialects of Italy; and it is but a small part of the praise due to him to say, that in his essay he has done more towards making us acquainted with this curious branch of philology, than all the writers who had preceded

* Thucydides, iv., 109. † Herodotus, iv., 145.

him. The analogy which subsists between the forms, Tusci, Osci, and Volsci, would furnish a presumption of the indigenous origen of the former, but that point seems abundantly established by the fundamental similarity of language which has been discovered to exist between the Etruscan and the other native dialects of Italy.

Having thus far tried to explain the origin of the Tuscan people, it remains for us to see how far their improved civilization and political superiority can be traced to the settlements formed by the Tyrrhenians amongst them. But as it will be naturally asked how we are to suppose that this people arrived in Italy, and at what period, we feel it necessary, first of all, to say a few words respecting that part of their history.

The easiest and most obvious way by which the Tyrrheni, coming from Thrace and the north of Greece, may be supposed to have reached Italy, would be by the Danube, and then by the Save up to the Italian Alps, and the head of the Adriatic. It is on this sea, doubtless, that history, however faint in its records of these transactions, places their first settlements, whether they reached it by land or in a fleet. They were unquestionably a maritime people, and their first settlements, Hadria, Spina, and Ravenna were seaport towns. If we follow the plain thread of history, divested of the romantic circumstances which Dionysius has interwoven in his narrative of the transactions of the Pelasgi with the Aborigines, it will appear that the former gradually advanced from the Po into the country of the Umbria, who being then at war with the Siculi, gladly received their assistance, and after the expulsion of the enemy, gave them settlements and lands in the newly acquired territory, which was Etruria proper. In the history of these events we adhere chiefly to the authority of Philistus, the Sicilian historian, who makes the Siculi of Ligurian origin, and states that the people who expelled them were the Umbri and Pelasgi, that being the most rational and intelligible account of this early revolution. According to the same historian, the migration of the Siculi took place about eighty years before the siege of Troy; so that we shall not be very far from the mark in assigning the

date of about one hundred years before the Trojan war, to the settlement of the Tyrrheni in Etruria.

Here, then, they founded, with the assistance of the natives, their first twelve cities, and if we conceive this people bringing with them all the improvements in war navigation, and general civilzation, which Greece was then beginning to derive from her proximity to the East and to Egypt, into a country only inhabited, and that partially, by rude and savage clans, we shall easily form an idea of the great and rapid influence which they would exercise over the moral and political state of Italy. We must suppose them to have been joined, from time to time, by numerous bands of Pelasgi, adventurers like themselves, as Ephorus represented them, who would flock from different parts of Greece to any country where renown and profit were to be acquired. The Tyrrhenian pirates, who had hitherto infested the Ægean, would naturally retire, when that sea was protected by the navy of Minos, to the seas of Italy, to exercise there the habits which they had acquired from the Phœnicians, and which remained so long a characteristic of their nation. We learn from Strabo,* that the Greeks did not venture to send colonies into Sicily till long after the fall of Troy, owing to the dread inspired by those formidable depredators. From the traditions preserved by Lycophron, it would appear that they formed settlements on almost every part of the coast washed by the Tyrrhenian sea. Their colonies in Campania and in Lucania, where Pæstum is supposed to have been founded by them, as well as others, on the shores of the Adriatic, also sufficiently attest their busy and enterprising spirit. They seem, in fact, to have spread themselves over all Italy, and in that sense we may, perhaps, take the assertion of Livy,† to be true, that the Tuscan name had reached every part of the peninsula and its seas before the arrival of Æneas.

But it was in Etruria, properly so called, that the Tyrrheni laid the first foundation of this power, and established under Tarchon their leader, a confederacy of twelve cities.‡

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* Strabo, v. 221. † Livy, xi., 567. ‡ Strabo, v., 219.

Strabo represents the Tuscans as being perpetually engaged in hostilities with the Umbri, from whom they were only seperated by the Tiber; and we are led to infer, that the advantage rested decidedly with the former people, since he goes on to state that they gradually extended the confines of their territory, and finally possessed themselves of the plains waterd by the Po. It is to this acquisition of dominion that Pliny* probably refers, when he reports that the Tuscans wrested no less than three hundred cities from their Umbrian antagonists. In the prosecution of their successful career, the Tuscans having arrived on the shores of the Adriatic, obtained possession, also, of the original Tyrrhenian settlements of Hadria and Spina, which the Tyrrheni, being too weak to defend them, abandoned, as Strabo relates, to the invaders, while Ravenna fell into the hands of the Umbri.†

The numerous discoveries of national monuments which have been made in Etruria confirm the fact that we are insisting upon, and point out that part of Italy as the original seat and abode of the Etruscans: while very few remains of this kind have been discovered in Piedmont and Lombardy. It is in Etruria that we can best trace the influence of the Tyrrhenian colony, in changing the habits and improving the condition of its natives. It is to the Tyrrheni that we would ascribe that mixture of religons of Greece and Italy which is known to have obtained in the Etruscan rites. Thus, with the deities peculiar to the country, such as Voltuma, Narcia, and the Dii Consentes, we find they worshipped Aplu, or the Pelasgian Apollo, Thurms, or Hermer, Juno, Minerva, and other divinities common to the Greeks.‡

Of the influence of the Pelasgi in the language of Italy there seems no question, the fact being admitted by ancient as well as modern writers. We are inclined to think that the Tyrrheni introduced the Pelasgic characters into Etruria and Umbria, and likewise communicated them to the Oscans, whose characters are somewhat more rude and uncouth. Tacitus, however, seems to say, that letters were brought by Damaratus of Corinth; but Gori and Lanzi think, and it

* Pliny, iii, 14. † Strabo, v., 214. ‡ Micali, ii., 22.

seems more natural so to interpret Tacitus, that Damartus only improved the Etruscan alphabet by the addition of some letters.* We must leave it to philologists to examine the causes which operated differently in forming the dialects of Etruria and Latium. But it seems that the difference which at first might not be considerable, gradually increased from the various elements which the latter received into its composition, while the former remained uncultivated and stationary. In proof of this it may be noticed, that the Etruscans retained the ancient mode of writing from right to left, while the Latins, together with new characters, adopted that arrangement which has since generally prevailed. These are the principal points in which the effects of the Tyrrhenian colony are visible in improving and civilizing Etruria. With respect to particular customs we are too little acquainted with the history of that country to distinguish what was indigenous, and what borrowed; but it seems sufficient to know that they infused a spirit of enterprise and conquest into the nation in which they had been adopted; a spirit which long prevailed and increased after the original Tyrrheni had removed or disappeared, as they are said to have done, towards the period of the Trojan war.†

Commerce, and the cultivation of the fine arts, for which this inventive people appear to have had a natural turn, would add to their refinement, and complete their superiority over the other comparatively barbarous tribes of Italy; circumstances which will account for their having been distinguished by the Greeks from the days of Hesiod to those of Thucydides and Aristotle, when Rome was unknown, or was thought to be a Tyrrhenian city. Whether it was really so may be a matter of speculation, in which it will not be forgotten how much she borrowed from Etruria in the formation of her religious and political institutions, and in the detail of her civil and military economy. Had the Tuscans formed a regular and effective plan for securing their conquests and strengthening their confederacies, they would have been the masters of Italy. But their enterprises, after a certain period, seem to have been desultory, and their meas-

* Lanzi, i., 191. † Dion, Hal., i., 26.

ures ill-combined and ineffectual. A fatal want of internal union which prevailed amongst their states, as Strabo* judiciously observes, rendered them an easy conquest to their Gallic invaders in the north of Italy, and to the hardy Samnites in Campania; while Rome was aiming at the very centre of their power and existence those persevering and systematic attacks which with her were never known to fail.

The history of the Tuscans subsequently to the foundation of Rome, is to be gleaned from Livy, and, at intervals, from short detached notices in the Greek historians and poets; but a rich field is left open to the antiquary who would illustrate the annals of this interesting people from the monuments that are daily discovered in their country, which seems destined to be the seat of the arts and good taste, through a perpetuity of ages. If the books of Aristotle and Theophrastus on the civil instituions of the Tyrrheni, or even the history of the Emperor Claudius, had been preserved to us, we should doubtless have been better acquainted with the causes of that ascendency which they are said to have once exercised over the whole of Italy.

Etruria, considered as a Roman province, was separated from Liguria by the river Macra; from Cisalpine Gaul and Umbria, to the north and northeast, by the Apennines; from the Umbria again, from the Sabines and Latium, by the Tiber to the southeast and south. Beginning from the Macra, the first place we meet on the coast of Etruria is Luna, now Golfo di Spezzia, celebrated for its beautiful and capacious harbor, as early as the days of Ennius.† Before the division under Augustus, Luna had formed part of Liguria. We find that the harbor of Luna was chiefly resorted to by the Romans, as a rendezvous for the fleets which they sent to Spain; it was also very famous for its white marbles, which now take their name from the neighboring town of Carraira.‡ Pliny speaks of the wine and cheese§ made in the neighborhood of Luna; the latter were sometimes so large as to weigh one thousand pounds. Inscriptions give Luna

* Strabo, v., 219.

† Lunai portum est operæ cognoscere civis.

‡ Anne metallifera reperfit jam mœnia lunæ Tyrrhencsyne domas?

§ Caseus Etruscæ signutus imagine lunæ, Præstabit pueris prandia mille tuis.

the title of a Roman municipium. Pisa retains its site and name as a modern city of great celebrity. The origin of Pisa is lost amidst the fables to which the Trojan war gave rise, and which are common to so many Italian cities. The earliest mention we have of this city in the Roman history is in Polybius,* from whom we learn, as well as from Livy,† that its harbor was much frequented by th Romans in their communication with Sardinia, Gaul and Spain. It was here that Scipio landed his army, when returning from the mouth of the Rhone to oppose Hannibal in Italy. Strabo speaks of it as having been formerly an important naval station; in his day it was still a very flourishing commercial town, from the supplies of timber which is furnished to the fleets, and the costly marbles which the neighboring quarries afforded for the splendid palaces and villas of Rome. Its territory produced wine, and the species of wheat called siligo.‡ The Portus Pisanus was at the mouth of the Arno. About three miles from Pisa, towards Lucca, are some hot springs, noticed by Pliny as the Aquæ Pisanæ,§ now Bagni di Pisa. Northeast of Lucca, and at the foot of the Appenines, we find Pistorium, now Pistoria. This town is memorable in the history of Rome, as having witnessed in its vicinity the close of Catiline's desperate, but short career. About twenty-five miles from Pistarium, in a southeast direction, we find Fæsula, a considerable town of Etruria, the ruins and name of which are preserved in the well-known hill and village of Ficsole. It is noticed for the first time in history, by Polybius,‖ in his account of the early wars between the Gauls and Romans. Florentia, now Florence, a town so celebrated as the capital of Italy, has no pretentions to a foundation of great antiquity, as we find no mention made of it before the time of Cæsar, by whom Frontinus says it was colonized; unless we think with Cluverius, that the town called Fluentia by Flurus,¶ and mentioned with many other distinguished cities, as having severely suffered in the civil wars of Scylla and Marius, might be identified with it. However that may

* Polybius, ii., 16-27. † Livy, xxi., 39. ‡ Pliny, xiv., 3.
§ Pliny, ii., 103. ‖ Polybius, ii., 25. ¶ Florus, i., 2

be, we find distinct mention made of Florentia, in the reign of Tiberius; when, as Tacitus informs us, the inhabitants of that city petitioned that the waters of the Clanis, a river which was very injurious from its perpetual inundations, might not be carried off into the Arno.

Returning to the sea, the first place which presents itself beyond the mouth of the Arno is the Portus Herculis Liburni, now Livorno, or Leghorn. About eighteen miles farther we come to another harbor, named Vada Volaterrana, from the neighboring city of Volaterræ; it is still known by the name of Vada. Nearly fifteen miles inland, and on the right bank of the same river, stood the ancient city of Volaterræ, now Volterra. Its Etruscan name, as it appears on numerous coins, was Volathri.* Even if we had not the express authority of Dion. Hal.† for assigning to Volterra a place among the twelve principal cities of ancient Etruria, the extent of its remains, its massive walls, vast sepulchral chambers, and numerous objects of Etruscan art, would suffice to show its antique splendor and importance, and claim for it that rank. From the monuments alone which have been discovered within its walls, and in the immediate vicinity, no small idea is formed of the power, civilization, and taste of the ancient Etruscans. Its walls were composed, as may yet be seen, of huge, massive stones piled on each other without cement; and their circuit which is still distinctly marked, embraced a circumference of between three and four miles.‡ The citadel was built, as Strabo§ reports, on a hill, the ascent of which was fifteen stadia; and it is supposed that the Tyrrhenian city, of which Aristotle speaks under the name of Oenarea, as being built on a hill, is Volterra.

The first mention of Voloterra, in Roman history, occurs in Livy,‖ where an engagement of no great importance, is stated to have taken place near the city, at the close of a war, in which the Etruscans were leagued with the Samnites against the Romans. The latter were under the command of L. Corn. Scipio. In the second Punic war, we find Volaterra among the other cities of Etruria that were

* Lanzi, ii., 95. † Dion, Hal., iii., 52. ‡ Mic., i., 26. § Strabo, v., 223. ‖ Livy, x., 12.

zealous in their offers of naval stores. The evias of Volaterra have the impression of a dolphin, which numismatical writers agree in considering as emblematical of a maritime power—to the Romans. Many years afterwards, Volaterrea sustained a siege against Sylla, which lasted two years.

To the east of Volterra stands Sienna, a modern city of celebrity, which appears to have been anciently called Sena, with the addition of Julia to distinguish it from Sena Gallicia, in Umbria. This designation implies a colony formed by Julius, or Augustus Cæsar. Considerably to the southwest of this last place, Massa Veternensis has preserved the first part of its name. The adjective Veternensis implies the existence of a more ancient town, probably called Veterna from the ruins of which Massa may have arisen. A few miles to the southwest of this place Vetulonii, one of the most powerful and distinguished of the twelve Etruscan cities, is supposed to have been situated. Its position, indeed, was long a matter of great uncertainty, and has given rise to much discussion. D'Auville,* who examines the subject fully, is inclined to think with Cluverias, that the position marked by the name of Valinis, is a corruption for Vetuloniis, and would, therefore, place this ancient town on the coast, though against the authority of Strabo, who expressly states that Populonium was the only one of the Etruscan cities which was close to the sea.† Dempster was not able to throw any light on the subject. But a more accurate survey of this tract of the country, usually called the Maremma of Sienna, by an Italian antiquary, named Qimenes,‡ has proved the ruins of Vetulonii to exist in a forest, still called Selva di Vetlesa, and in the position which Ptolomy had assigned to that city. The Velinis and the ruins called Vetulia, must belong to the Aquæ Vetuloniæ of Pliny. If we may believe Silius Italiens, it was Vetulonii that first used the insignia—the Etruscan name of Vetulonii, as we learn from coins, was Vetluna; they bear the impression of a wheel and an axe, which are supposed to have reference to those insignia of magistracy common to the Etruscans,

* D'Auville, Anal. Geogr., i., 132.
† Esame su la Maremma Senese, p. 24.
† Pliny, iii., 5.

and with which Rome afterwards decorated her consuls and dictators. Vetulonii is ranked among the twelve principal cities."* An inscription quoted by Cluverius, proves that it was a municipal town under the Romans.

In a line with Vetalonii, and on the coast, was Populonium, once a most flourishing town, and the naval arsenal of the Etruscans. It has been already noticed, that this was the only considerable city which that nation founded immediately on the coast; in other instances they were prevented from doing this by the want of commodious havens, and through fear of being exposed to the attacks of pirates. But the harbor of Populonium, now Porto Baratto, possessed peculiar advantages; it was secure, and of great extent, and from its proximity to the island of Elba, so rich in metals, of the highest importance, as the produce of the mines appears never to have been prepared for use in the island itself, but was always sent over to Populonium for that purpose. In proof of the antiquity of this place, it may be observed, that it is mentioned by Virgil† as one of the Etruscan cities which sent forces. Strabo has accordingly described the site of Populonium from personal inspection; he tells us that it was placed on a lofty hill that ran out into the sea, like a peninsula. On the summit was a tower for watching the approach of the thunny fish. From thence you could see plainly the island of Elba, and even Corsica and Sardinia. We may infer from Livy,‡ that it was still an important city in the time of the second Punic war, but during the civil wars it sustained a siege, about the same time with Volterra, in which it suffered so much, that nothing but the temple and a few houses were preserved. The arsenal and part of the foot of the promontory, now Capo di Campana, presented, however, a less desolate appearance. The vestiges of this ancient city are to be seen about three miles north of Piombino. A little to the east is a small lake, formed by the river Cornia, supposed by Cluverius to be the Lynceus of Lycophron. This lake, which has a narrow outlet to the sea, is now called Caldano, and is described by Rutilius, together with its haven,

* Dion. Hal., iii., 51. † Aen. x., 174. ‡ Livy, xxx., 39.

the Portus Faleria, now Porto Falese. Continuing along the coast, we find the little river called Alma, and which still retains its name. Somewhat beyond is the Portus Trajanus of Ptolomy, now Torre di Troja. The Lacus Prelius of Cicero, probably the same as the Prilis of Pliny, is now Lago di Castiglione. Two or three miles to the northeast of this lake, some remarkable ruins, with the name of Roselle attached to them, point out the site of the ancient Rosellae, one of the twelve Etruscan cities. It is mentioned more than once by Livy, in the course of the wars with Etruria. It was taken by assault in the year 454 U. C., by the consul L. Posth. Megillus.* In the second Punic war, we hear of its furnishing timber, especially fir, for the Roman fleet. From Pliny we learn that it subsequently became a colony, which is confirmed by an inscription cited by Holstenius.†

A short distance from the lake Peilis, brings us to the mouth of the Ombrone, anciently Umbro, one of the most considerable rivers of Etruria; it is represented as navigable by Pliny,‡ and its name, as the same writer observes, is indicative of the Umbri having once been in possession of Etruria. Beyond this river was the Portus Telamo, now Telamone, a city of high antiquity, if we are to credit the account of Divid. Lic., who attributes its foundation to the Argonauts; but without trusting to this fabulous story, there is no doubt of its having been founded at a very early period, since it is mentioned by Timacus, whom Diodorus quotes. It was probably a Pelasgic city—the coins, with the epigraph T. L. A., and T. A. L., in Etruscan characters, are generally ascribed to Telamo. Telamo is chiefly memorable in the history of Rome, from an important military event which took place in its neighbourhood, and which we find recorded at length in Polybius.§ In the interval between the first and second Punic wars, and seven years before the beginning of the latter, that is, 529 U. C., the Cisalpine Gauls, joined by a numerous army of Transalpine barbarians called Gaseatae, made a formidable irruption into Etruria. They baffled the vigilance of the prætor, who was posted at Arretium, by passing the Apennines, north of

* Livy, x., 37. † Ital. Ant., p. 39. ‡ Pliny, iii., 5. § Polybius, ii., 25.

that town; crossing probably from Bologne, by the Val di Mugello. They then advanced to Clusium, without meeting with any obstacle, being, on their arrival at that place, only three days' march from Rome. Hearing, however, that the prætor, apprised of their arrival into Etruria, was hastening to bring them to an engagement, they changed the direction of their march, and moved from the Val di Chiana, as if they intended to retreat to Faesulae, but instead of continuing their route to that town, they concealed their forces among the hills of Sienna, and lay in wait for the enemy. The prætor having fallen into the ambuscade, sustained a severe defeat; rallying, however, his scattered troops on a neighboring hill, he there maintained himself, till he was relieved by the consul Paulus Aemilus, who was stationed with a powerful army at Ariminum; and on hearing of the irruption made by the Gauls, moved rapidly to the support of his countrymen. The Gauls, unable to prevent the junction of the two Roman armies, determined not to hazard a battle, but to endeavor to secure their retreat with the rich booty they had already been able to collect. Cut off, however, from the passes over the Apennines, by the Roman army in their front, they had no other resource left but to gain the coast, and proceed by Pisa and Luna, through Liguria, to their own country. They descended, therefore, from the hills of Sienna into the Maremma, and advanced towards the sea, following the course of the Ombrone. Meanwhile the other consul, C. Atilius, who was on his return from Sardinia, had landed at Pisa, and was marching with his army along the coast, on his way to Rome. Near Telamo he fell in with an advanced party of the Gauls, from whom he learned the state of things. Apprised by this means of the approach of the enemy, he took up an advantageous position, to intercept their passage; while his colleague, who was close at hand, opposed their retreat. The barbarians being assailed in front and rear, after a desperate conflict, in which the brave Atilius was slain, were finally routed and cut to pieces. This memorable action, though generally known by the name of the battle of Telamo, was not fought precisely in the neighborhood of that city, but nearer the lake Prilis, on the right

bank of the Ombrone, and not far from the modern town of Groseti. This circumstance is established by a curious passage in Frontinus, who mentions that a large detachment of the Gauls was surprised and destroyed by the consul Aemilius, during their retreat, near a place called Columna, which is easily recognised in its modern name of la Colonna; and which enables us to verify the accuracy of Polybius's account, and to explain in a satisfactory manner the movements of the contending armies.

Telamo was doubtless mentioned by that historian, as the town of greatest note which occurred on that part of the Tuscan coast. The battle of Telamo was important, for it not only freed the Romans from a most formidable danger, but enabled them, for the first time, to carry their arms into Cisalpine Gaul, and so effectually repressed the boldness of these barbarians, that they never after ventured to invade the Roman territory, except under the conduct of Hannibal. Ptolomy mentions only the promontory of that name. A little to the south of it is the Osa, a small stream, recorded by the same geographer, and which is still so called, empties itself into the sea. Proceeding still along the coast, we find the important city of Cossa,* or Cossæ, at a little distance from the modern town of Ansedonia, which is now itself in ruins. From Pliny† we learn that Cossa was founded by the people of Volci, an Etruscan city; and Virgil‡ has named it in the catalogue of the forces sent by Etruria to the aid of Æneas. Cossa became a Roman colony, A. U. C., 480. Subsequently we find the Cossoni mentioned in terms of commendation by Livy, for their fidelity to the Romans during the desperate struggles of the second Punic war. The neighboring port, which is noticed by ancient writers under the different appellations of Portus Cossanus and Portus Herculis; has preserved the latter designation under the name of Porto d'Ercole. The poet alludes to the defeat of M. Aemilius Lepidus, the consul, who sought to raise

* Massicus aerata princepes secat aequora Tigri :
Sub quo mille manus juvenum, qui moenia Clusi
Quique urbem liquere Cossa.—Aen, x., 167.

† Pliny, iii., 5. ‡ Aen. x., 167.

disturbances in the state after the death of Sylla, but was checked by his colleague, Q. Lutatius Catulus, who defeated him near Cossa, and drove him from thence to seek shelter in Sardinia. About five miles farther, Cluverius places the seat of the Pelasgic King Malaeotus, hence named Regis Villa. Tradition represented this chief as one of those Pelasgi who returned to Greece and settled in Attica.

Beyond is the river Marta of the Itineraries, which retains its name unchanged. Near its mouth, and on the side of the Terre di Corneto, we would place the ancient town of Graviscai. Cluverius inclines to Corneto itself, but that place is too much inland; for it is evident, from the account of Strabo, and the maritime Itineraries, that Gravisca was a seaport. It appears to have been a town of some note, and probably served as a harbor to the important city of Tarquinii, situated at some distance from the coast. Gravisca became a Roman colony, A. U. C., 571. But the low and marshy situation in which it was built, seems to have rendered this town always unhealthy. Somewhat higher up than Corneta, on the left bank of the Marta, some ruins, to which the name of Turchina is attached, point out the site of Tarquinii,* represented as one of the most powerful cities of Etruria, and celebrated in history for its early connexion with Rome. The foundation of Tarquinii is ascribed by Strabo, to Tarchin, the famous Etruscan chief, who is so often introduced by the poets. Some have supposed him to be the same with the celebrated Etruscan lawgiver, Tages, as similar fabulous circumstances are ascribed to both. Justin states that Tarquinii was founded by some Thessalians and Spinambi, meaning, doubtless, the Pelasgi and Umbri, who came from Spina, on the Adriatic; a notion which sufficiently agrees with that we endeavored to establish respecting the Tyrrhenian colony. There seems abundant authority for admitting Taryninii among the twelve states of Etruria. Strabo indeed states, that it was from this city that the Romans borrowed all their royal insignia and mili-

* Ipse oratores ad me regnique caronam
Cum sceptro misit, mandatque Tarchon
Succedam castris. Tyrrhenaque regna, capessam—Aen, viii., 505.

tary pomp during the reign of Tarquin; but this fact is at variance with the admission of Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, that these and many other Etruscan institutions and customs, existed already in the time of Romulus. The circumstances which placed the first Tarquin on the throne of Rome, are too well known to be detailed here. The arrival of Demaratus, father of that prince, from Corinth, in the time of Cypselus, A. U. C., 120, is to be considered as an important event in the history of Etruria, as the subsequent improvements in the fine arts and in the literature of that country, are generally ascribed to him. It proves also the intercourse which subsisted at that time between Etruria and the maritime states of Greece. There is one circumstance connected with the reign of Tarquinius Priscus, at Rome, which appears deserving of remark, as it relates to the history of Etruria. It is stated by Dion. Hal. that this prince, after a long war, compelled the twelve Etruscan states to acknowledge him as their head. We cannot but consider this fact as extremely dubious. If we reflect that Rome, many years after, was not able to resist the combined forces of Etruria, under Porsenna, and that this war with Tarquin is not once mentioned by Livy, we shall be rather inclined to look upon Rome, at that time, as the dependent or ally of Etruria, rather than the mistress of that powerful state.

Tarquinii was foremost among the cities of Etruria to assist Tarquinius Superbus in re-establishing himself at Rome.* Its wars with that city, and final subjugation, are related in the seventh book of the same historian. At a later period it became a colony and mumicipium. From Statius we collect that the territory of Tarquinii was woody; and from the circumstance of its having furnished sails for the Roman fleet, that it was as productive of flax as it is now. It was in this district that Q. Fulvius Lippinus had formed his parks, which, according to Varro, were so well stocked with wild beasts. The sites of Cartuara and Coalenebra, two obscure towns mentioned by Livy as belonging to Tarquinii, are quite unknown. Centumellæ, now Civita

* Livy, ii., 6.

Vecchia, is better known under the name of Trajani Portus, that emperor having caused a magnifiicent harbor to be constructed there, which Pliny the younger has described in one of his epistles. Two immense piers formed the port, which was semicircular, while an island, constructed artificially, of immense masses of rock, brought there by vessels and sunk in the sea, served as a breakwater in front, and supported a pharos. The coast being very destitute of shelter for vessels of burden, this work of Trajan was of great national benefit. Centumcellæ having been destroyed by the Saracens, the inhabitants built another town some distance inland, but afterwards they re-occupied the old city, which from that circumstance obtained its present name.

Castrum Novum, which follows next on the coast, must not be confounded with the Castrum Juni of Virgil. The latter place was certainly in Latium, and not Ardea; and probably the designation of Novum was added to the Etruscan city to distinguish it from its more ancient namesake. Castrum Novum appears to have been a Roman colony. The next place to be noticed on the coast is Tyrgi, whose name sufficiently attests its Grecian origin, had we not, besides the authority of Strabo on the subject; he informs us that this city had a temple erected and dedicated to Lucina, by the Pelasgi, which was once much celebrated for its riches, until it was plundered by Dyonissius, tyrant of Syracuse. This expedition which took place soon after the capture of Rome by the Gauls, or about 368, U. C., is related at some length by Diodorus Siculus, who informs us that Tyrgi was the harbor of the important town of Cære, a fact also mentioned by Strabo. The inhabitants of this last place having come out to repel the invaders, were defeated by the Sicilians, who returned to Syracuse loaded with spoils, the produce of which exceeded five hundred talents. We may judge of the luxury of this place from the fact of its courtezans being noted by Lucilius. We now come to Cære, or, as it always called by the Greek writers, Agylla, one of the most considerable cities of Etruria, and universally acknowledged to have been founded by the Tyrrheni Pelasgi. The remains of Cære are still to be traced about four miles from

the sea, on a spot known to the people of the country by the name of Cerveteri. The last place to be pointed out on the coast is the Portus Augusti, at the mouth of the Tiber.

We have yet to notice the few islands which lie off the coast of Etruria. That of Gargona, which is opposite to Leghorn, is no doubt the Urgo of Pliay and Mela. Near to it is the Maenaria of Pliny, now Melaria. The island of Elba, named Æthalia by the Greeks, and Ilva by the Latins, is distant about ten miles from Populonium, the nearest point of the Tuscan coast. Ilva was early celebrated for its rich iron mines; but by whom they wered and worked is uncertain, as they are said to exhibit the marks of labors carried on for an incalculable time. It even seems to have been a popular belief among the ancients, that the metallic substance was constantly renewed. It is probable that the Phœnicians were the first to make known the mineral riches of the island, and that it was from them the Tyrrheni learned to estimate its value; which may have held out to them no small inducement for settling on the coast, otherwise deficient in natural advantages. It is to the latter people that we would trace the name of Æthalia; since it appears that Lemnos, which they once inhabited, bore, according to the testimony of Polybius, the same appellation in ancient times. The Portus Argous, supposed to have derived its name from the expedition of the Aruonauts, is now Porto Furraio. Between Elba and Corsica the little island called Planasia by Varro, and Planaria, by Pliny, is now Pianosa. Tacitus relates, that Augustus was persecuted by Livia to banish his nephew. Agrippa, thither. The rock laid down in modern maps under the name of Monte Christo, is the Oglysa of Pliny. Caprania, a larger island than the two last, is now Capraia. Pliny informs us that it derived its name from the number of goats with which it was stocked, whence the Greeks called it Ægilon.

Opposite the harbor of Cossa are two small islands, Igilium, now Giglia, and Arti mesium, now Gianuti. In order to describe what remains of the interior of Etruria we shall now proceed to the source of the Arno. Here we find Arezza, the ancient Arretium, a town of considerable celebrity, and generally considered as one of the

principal states of Etruria. After an unsuccessful campaign, in which the Romans had carried their arms beyond the Cimian forest, and obtained a truce for thirty years; after an interval of fourteen years, war was again renewed by the Arretini, but with the same result, when, on their submission, a cessation of hostilities was granted them for forty years. From that time Arretium may be considered as subject to the Romans. As a defence against the incursions of the Cisalpine Gauls, it became a place of great importance. In relating the transactions which led to the battle of Jellamo it was stated, that a Roman general was stationed at Arretium; and some years after, we find the Consul Flaminius postod there to defend the entrance of Etruria against Hannibal. The city became a Roman colony probably, soon after the time of Scylla.

Pliny distinguishes three colonies: the Arretini, properly so called; and those surnamed Fidentes; and Inlienses. Arretium was much celebrated for its terra cotta vases, which Pliny ranks with those of Samos and Laguntum. About fourteen miles south of Arretium, we find Cortona, a city whose claims to antiquity appear to be equalled by few other towns in Italy, and which to this day retains its name unchanged. Concerning its origin, we learn from Dionysius, of Halicarnassus, who quotes from an author somewhat anterior to Herodotus, that the Pelasgi who had landed at Spina, on the Po, subsequently advanced into the interior of Italy, and occupied Cortona which they fortified; and from thence formed other settlements in Tyrrhenia. On this account it is that we find Cortona styled the metropolis of that province. A few miles to the south of Cortona, is the Lacus Trasimenus, a name which naturally recalls the celebrated battle fought on its shores. The description of the disastrous overthrow of the Romans, is so familiar to every reader, and it is so clearly and accurately given by the original historians, that it is needless to dwell upon it here, except so far as it may serve to illustrate the local features of the country in which the contending armies moved and fought. Hannibal, having on entering Etruria, given his troops that repose which their late fatigues so much

required, and during that time having thoroughly made himself acquainted with the character of the general opposed to him, and the nature of the country in which he was about to carry on the war, again moved forward, and crossing the Arno, near Florence, advanced by the stations Aquileia, Fines, Biturgia, and Graecos, leaving Arretium and the Roman army on his left. He then crossed the Palus Clusina, now Val di Chiana, and having passed Coztona, entered the defile formed by the mountains, in the midst of which that city is placed, on the left, and by the Lake Thrasimene on the right. This movement of Hannibal is well described by Strabo, when mentioning this lake, but he has not been generally well understood. The geographer means to say, there were two ways of moving to the south, either by the Arimiuum and Umbria, or by the defile just mentioned. The Carthagenian general succeeded by the latter, though it was more difficult. Beyond this narrow passage, and at the end of the lake, along whose margin the road is necessarily carried, is a valley of some extent, shut up by a steep hill, while it is flanked by others, which rise to a considerable elavation. Here Hannibal laid that snare for the Roman consul, which proved so fatal to him and his army. Flaminius, fired with indignation, at having been out-manœnvred by the Carthaginian general, who was ravaging within sight of his camp, the fertile plains of Etruria, pursued the foe with rash haste, and fell into the toils so artfully laid for him. The scene of this catastrophe is easily traced at the present day. The valley before described is that which is now occupied by the village of Passignano. Monte Gualandro closes upon the lake, and forms the defile by which the two armies successively entered. A little stream, which crosses the valley and falls into the lake, by its name of Sanguinetto, seems, together with the hamlet called Ossaia, to bear record of that bloody day.

But we cannot proceed any farther at present; although we have to omit some of the most conclusive evidences of the advanced state of Etruscan civilization.

IX.—NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES-LETTRES.

The New England Tragedies. By HENRY WADSWORTH LONGFELLOW. I. *John Endicott;* II. *Giles Corey of the Salem Farms.* 16mo, pp. 179. Boston: Ticknor & Fields. 1868.

There is not one of our poets whom we prefer, upon the whole, to Mr. Longfellow; nor is there any English poet of the present day whom we rank far above him. Yet we find it impossible to admire his recent productions. We thought "The Song of Hiawatha" exhibited a considerable falling off from "Evangeline;" we could not help regarding it as greatly inferior even to "The Courtship of Miles Standish." It certainly afforded us no pleasure to find fault with Mr. Longfellow's translation of Dante. Not one of his friends looked forward to the completion of that work with a stronger predilection in its favor, but never did any similar performance disappoint us more. We were very unwilling to call it a failure; but that it was such is now pretty generally admitted; and yet it is a work that is worthy of a place in every library, especially in the elegant form in which the first edition of it was got up by the translator's American publishers.

It was our opinion that his version of the *Divina Commedia* would add nothing to the reputation of Mr. Longfellow as a poet; we were sorry he had not chosen some subject "racy of the soil," having little doubt that had he done so he would have done himself vastly more credit. Now it seems that we were wrong in this, for the performances before us have really very little merit. We have seldom had the patience to read two five-act tragedies in a poetical form in which there is so little poetry; but there is truth enough in each, such as it is—a very grim sort. If the genius of Mr. Longfellow happens to be somewhat clouded just now, so that he cannot charm us, he has at least the manliness to present us facts, the bare recital of which is sufficiently tragical. If he has not succeeded in giving us two tragic dramas worthy of comparison with those of dramatists of acknowledged eminence, he has at least drawn as repulsive and gloomy portraitures of fanaticism as there is to be found in any literature. And yet who can accuse him of exaggeration? For the sake of humanity, not to mention religion, and for the sake of the present generation of New Englanders, we confess we should be glad to sustain that charge against the poet. But it is impossible; we must admit that if he has deviated at all from the substantial truth of history, he has done so in favor of the cruel and relentless persecutors. Well might the worst enemy of Christianity say of such scenes as Mr. Longfellow describes:

> "Il vient; le fanatisme est son horrible nom;
> Enfant dénaturé de la religion;
> Armé pour la défendre, *il cherche à la détruire*
> *Et reçu dans son sein, l'embrasse et le déchire.*"

The scene of "John Endicott," the first tragedy, is laid in Boston, the time being 1665. Great indeed is the improvement which has since taken place in the capital of New England; no one admires the intellectual progress that has been made more than we; and yet whoever has the courage to tell the truth must say that there are still some traces of the old fanaticism even in the modern Athens. No honest Quaker would indeed be put to death at the present day by magistrates and parsons of Boston; nor would any be put to the torture for not believing in the gospel according to St. Calvin; but is it not still a somewhat grievous sin to do certain things on the Sabbath-day that are deemed harmless in less enlightened parts of the world? Are not nuns, engaged in teaching the youth of their sex, nearly as dangerous members of society as the Quakeresses used to be in the time of Governor Endicott and Parson Norton? At least, were they not so only a few brief years since, when it was deemed necessary by the Magi of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to examine them in their bedrooms to see whether they did not wear horns or other deadly weapons, which they might manage to conceal when they went abroad among the orthodox and righteous?

But let us hear Mr. Longfellow. His best lines, in more than one sense, are contained in his Prologue; he evokes the spirit of ancient Boston quite handsomely, as if it had been a benevolent, harmless spirit, that had nothing to do with the devils and demons that figure so largely in the tragedy:

> "Rise then, O buried city that has been;
> Rise up, rebuilded in the painted scene,
> And let our curious eyes behold once more
> The pointed gable and the pent-house door,
> The Meeting-house with leaden-latticed panes,
> The narrow thoroughfares, the crooked lanes!" (P. 7.)

In order that every enlightened, liberal mind may be pleased at least with the moral sentiments of the poet, we give another extract from the Prologue:

> "Let us remember, if these words be true,
> That unto all men Charity is due;
> Give what we ask; and pity while we blame,
> Lest we become copartners in the shame,
> Lest we condemn, and yet ourselves partake,
> And persecute the dead for conscience' sake." (P. 8.)

With this foretaste, none will be disposed to judge our poet harshly. That we have no such disposition ourselves may be seen from the fact that we quote no passage merely to show that it has no poetry in it; all the extracts we have marked would have been somewhat exciting in the dullest prose. Take, for example, those which relate to Parson Norton, the shining light of the time. Endicott begins to think that there has been blood enough shed, and a sufficient number of heretics ruined, for the love of

God; he warns the parson that the people murmur, and the holy man replies as follows:

"Then let them murmur!
Truth is relentless; justice never wavers;
The greatest firmness is the greatest mercy;
The noble order of the Magistracy
Cometh immediately from God, and yet
This noble order of the Magistracy
Is by these Heretics despised and outraged." (P. 15.)

This settles the conscience of the governor, and the good work proceeds. It seems that the dogma of woman's rights had not yet been accepted in Parson Norton's time. A Quakeress enters the good parson's church, accompanied by several Quakers, their mission being to implore mercy. We transcribe a line or two, as a specimen of Norton's part of the dialogue that ensues:

"Be silent, babbling woman!
St. Paul commands all women to keep silence
Within the churches."

Ladies have ever proved heroines in times of persecution; in proportion as men have degraded themselves by their bad passions, women have risen above their timidity, and put to shame by their courage the grovelling fears of the boasted lords of creation. The Quakeress does so in this instance; whether she speaks the truth or not we leave it to the reader to determine:

"The law of God is greater than your laws!
Ye build your church with blood, your town with crime;
The heads thereof give judgment for reward;
The priests thereof teach only for their hire;
Your laws condemn the innocent to death;
And against this I bear my testimony!" (P. 11.)

But it seems that ladies were not merely insulted at this time for not being orthodox; occasionally they were whipped publicly:

"You know that Edith,
After her scourging in three towns, was banished
Into the wilderness, into the land
That is not sown." (P. 84.)

After the parson has driven out the Quakers, he joins Governor Endicott, whom he assures that the vile heretics are the cause of all the "manifestations of the wrath divine" which New England has experienced for some time. Still the holy man refuses to repine; he knows that if God is angry it is no wonder he should be, as long as such wicked heretics as the Quakers are permitted to live:

"These emissaries of the Evil One,
These servants and ambassadors of Satan,
Are but commissioned executioners
Of God's vindictive and deserved displeasure." (P. 13.)

If we do not mistake, the Jesuits are sometimes called "emissaries of the

Evil One" at the present day. Was it not because they were regarded as such that for many years they had to send the students from their college at Worcester all the way to Georgetown, D. C., to receive their diplomas? It seems that Father Clark was the first to prove to the satisfaction of the legislators of Massachusetts that, after all, the Jesuits are not "emissaries of the Evil One," but honest people, who are as much opposed to that wicked personage as they are themselves. As soon as the good father, who combines some wit and humor with his learning and piety, settled this point, the Jesuit college got a charter, and we have heard no more of the "emissaries of the Evil One!"

It appears that, when there was no other excuse for inflicting punishment, it was a crime even to walk on the Sabbath. The temporal power and the spiritual power went hand in hand at this time; in general, whatever the parson advised the governor was ready to execute; and when the former was engaged in graver matters his "tithing-man" represented him with becoming zeal. Accordingly a Boston Sabbath is described as follows:

> "All silent as a graveyard! No one stirring;
> No footfall in the street, no sound of voices!
> By righteous punishment and perseverance,
> And perseverance in that punishment,
> At last I've brought this contumacious town
> To strict observance of the Sabbath day." (P. 16.)

A portion of this description will remind some of our readers of a certain passage in Dickens's *Notes;* and Boz is not the only modern traveller who regarded a Boston Sabbath as something very sombre and melancholy. But we must treat our readers to one passage more. The people, growing tired of the orthodoxy and piety that produced no better fruits than torture, murder, and robbery, threaten to rebel against the authorities. The magistrates get frightened, and have placards posted throughout the town declaring that the jailer shall be dealt with "impartially," etc. Parson Norton, highly indignant, proceeds to tear down the placards with his own hands:

> "Down with this weak and cowardly concession,
> This flag of truce with Satan and with Sin!
> I fling it in his face! I trample it
> Under my feet!" (P. 79.)

This, we think, is quite enough of the Quaker tragedy. The drama ends pretty much as it begins—rather in a puerile way. All, or nearly all, the persecutors die suddenly. While Parson Norton was by his own fireside,

> "A faintness and a giddiness came o'er him,"

and he had only time to cry, "The hand of God is on me," when he fell dead. The death of Atherton, another Quaker scourger, was equally sudden and remarkable, not to say miraculous. Just as he was returning home one evening, at the spot where the Quakers were usually tortured or hanged,

> "His horse took fright and threw him to the ground,
> So that his brains were dashed about the street." (P. 92.)

There may be justice enough in this, but it can hardly be called *poetical* justice. Nor can we say anything very different of the Witch tragedy; the twain are as much alike as any two similar performances we remember to have had the patience and perseverance to read. Hitherto we had supposed the Quakers and the witches were very different beings; but in the tragedies of Mr. Longfellow they have quite a family likeness to each other. And still more close, if possible, is the resemblance between the parsons and the magistrates. Parson Mather in the one tragedy might easily pass for the brother of Parson Norton in the other, the chief difference between them consisting in the names. In the first place, one has exactly the same faith in the Evil One; thus let us snatch a line or two from one of the long soliloquies of Parson Mather:

> "I am persuaded there are few affairs
> In which the Devil doth not interfere.
> We cannot undertake a journey even,
> But Satan will be there to meddle with it
> By hindering or by furthering." (P. 105.)

Mather is also very conscientious and impartial. He is willing, indeed, to use the knife, but only when it is deserved—that is, when the witchcraft is proved:

> "Be careful. Carry the knife with such exactness,
> That on one side no innocent blood be shed
> By too excessive zeal, and, on the other,
> No shelter given to any work of darkness." (P. 110.)

We will not now detain the reader with a specimen of what was considered satisfactory evidence; but we cannot close our extracts without showing that Mather was a patriot as well as a divine!

> "Ah! poor New England! He who hurricanoed
> The house of Jacob is making now on thee
> One last assault, more deadly and more snarled
> With unintelligible circumstances
> Than any thou hast hitherto encountered!" (P. 112.)

Upon the whole, we think it would have been as well for all concerned had Mr. Longfellow allowed both the Quakers and the witches, as well as their persecutors, to rest in their graves. Not, indeed, that he has brought them to life even for a day. We fear it will be too generally admitted that he has done little more than to disturb the charnel-house, without sufficiently fortifying those who accompany him against the disagreeable consequences of the rash act.

Rhymes of the Poets. By Felix Ago. 12mo, pp. 56. Philadelphia: E. H. Buller & Co. 1868.

Such is the tendency to exaggeration at the present day, that we almost invariably find that those who promise least in their title-page give most inside, and *vice versa*. The author of the present volume makes no display; very few would expect much from his title. The size of the book,

also, is suggestive of scantiness, yet there is really a great deal in it. Nor is the fact difficult to explain; whoever "Ago" is, he has pursued the course of the skilful chemist who takes account only of the essence. Be it remembered that the bill of fare which he has set before us in this slender, unpretending form contains contributions from one hundred and fourteen poets—good, bad, and indifferent. That three fourths of this list are but rhymsters is not our author's fault; nearly all have been regarded as poets in their day, and scarcely any English or American poets worthy of the name have been overlooked.

If so much labor had been performed merely to afford us reading matter, we would hardly have said one word about it, for the reason that there is a superfluity of "elegant extracts;" but the extracts in the tiny volume before us are given with an object which too many even of our educators lose sight of. All lexicographers regard the usage of the poets as the best standard of pronunciation; but how many take the trouble to ascertain what that usage is? This would require patience, industry, intelligence, and good taste; things that are by no means so common as the members of our admiration societies so often tell each other. They are possessed, however, by the author of this book; at least those qualities are fully displayed, though without any ostentation, in "Rhymes of the Poets." A large number of the quotations given in illustration of the varying sounds of many words in common use, are curious and often amusing as well as instructive. As the work is got up in a style commensurate with the value of its contents—the typography, paper, and binding combining elegance with utility—we doubt not that it will become a favorite in the intelligent family circle as well as in the school-room.

The Earthly Paradise: A Poem. By WILLIAM MORRIS, author of "The Life and Death of Jason." From the third London edition. 16mo, pp. 430. Boston: Roberts Brothers. 1868.

Mr. Morris seems impelled to set himself and his readers long tasks, and to himself, at least, arduous ones. His "Life and Death of Jason" contained seventeen books; the volume before us comprises four hundred and thirty pages, more closely printed than is usual with such publications, and a similar volume follows to complete the work.

"Breezes are blowing in old Chaucer's verse," and Mr. Morris has "drunk their fragrance" to some purpose. From that "well of English undefiled," and from the Greek classics, he seems to have drawn his inspiration. He does not attempt to

> "Fill all the stops of life with tuneful breath,"

but bears his part in a *fugue*, and does it, on the whole, quite satisfactorily. He does not undertake much as a poet, but he attempts just about what he seems able to accomplish—seeming to have a creditable conception of the nature and limitations of his genius. He says of himself:

> "Of Heaven or Hell I have no power to sing,
> I cannot ease the burden of your fears,

Or make quick-coming death a little thing,
Or bring again the pleasure of past years,
Nor for my words shall ye forget your tears,
Or hope again for aught that I can say,
The idle singer of an empty day." (P. 1.)

Preliminary to what he has to say of the "Earthly Paradise," Mr. Morris first gives us a Lethean draught, and asks us to forget six centuries with their changes and their evidences of progress; then, with a wave of his wand, he sets us down amidst the surroundings of that early age in

" A nameless city in a distant sea,
White as the changing walls of faëric,
Thronged with much people clad in ancient guise." (P. 3.)

Next are introduced the chief actors in this weird drama—a band of wanderers who appear in this Grecian city:

" The men themselves are shrivelled, bent, and gray;
And as they lean with pain upon their spears,
Their brows seem furrowed deep with more than years." (P. 4.)

An "Elder of the City" addresses them and asks for their story, which they proceed to unfold. They were from Vornay, and many years previously had gone in quest of the "Earthly Paradise." They had visited previously undiscovered lands, and met with many wonderful adventures. These adventures are sufficiently interesting to the reader, though often indicating much hardship imposed upon the wanderers, who, after all their troubles, never found the "Earthly Paradise." Mr. Morris leaves his readers even more in the dark regarding this later Eden than were the characters of his narrative. It is intimated that they knew what they were after—at least we are not given to presume that they were so foolish as to undertake and suffer so much without at least the supposed prospect of an adequate reward. But whatever glorious land they expected to find, what joys they anticipated, Mr. Morris gives us no description, and even no definite hint of them. Regarding this paradisaical realm he leaves us to our imaginations, preferring, it seems, not to attempt to enlighten us with his own. He simply tells us that there is a glorious banquet, but will not even read to us the bill of fare. We are tempted to wish that he had given his book another name and said nothing about the "Earthly Paradise."

Considering, however, not what Mr. Morris promises, or what, at least, we had a right to expect from his title-page, let us consider what he has done. There is first the "Prologue," describing the adventures of the wanderers on their strange quest, and their relation of them to their new hosts. This is introductory to a number of tales which follow, and which are related—as we learn from the "Prologue"—at "two solemn feasts" which were held every month. Accordingly, there follow two tales for every month from March to August, inclusive; those for the remaining months of the year are to be given in the second volume. Those in the volume before us are generally old stories rehashed, such as "Atalanta's

Race," "The Story of Cupid and Psyche," "The Love of Alcestis," etc. As stories they are well and simply told. Mr. Morris excels in narrative and in imaginative description. There are some beautiful pictures, of which one may serve as a specimen:

"Now the road turned to the left hand
And led him through a table-land,
Windy and barren of all grain;
But where a hollow specked the plain
The yew-trees hugged the side of it,
And 'mid them did the woodlark flit,
Or sang, well-sheltered from the wind,
And all about the sheep did find
Sweet grass, the while the shepherd's song
Rang clear as Michael sped along." (P. 123.)

Mr. Morris's style is generally diffuse, and exhibits no effort at concentrated expression; indeed he seems rather to wish to spread his thoughts over as much paper as possible. Consequently there are few quotable passages in the volume—there is very little that one would care to commit to memory. There are some good things, however, of which we consider this one, and wish there were more like it in this and other volumes of verse:

"So beautiful and pitiless he went,
And toward him still the blossomed fruit-trees leant,
And after him the wind crept murmuring,
And on the boughs the birds forgot to sing." (P. 231.)

He is not often thoughtful or tender, but when he does become so we wish that he would think and feel more and write less, persuaded that what he *could* give us, would he but condense and intensify himself, would be more worthy of his time and ours. We like this:

"O Love! this morn when the sweet nightingale
Had so long finished all he had to say,
That thou hadst slept, and sleep had told his tale;
And 'midst a peaceful dream had stolen away
In fragrant dawning of the first of May,
Didst thou see aught? didst thou hear voices sing
Ere to the risen sun the bells 'gan ring?" (P. 221.)

The stories, as we have said, are well-conceived as stories. They are, indeed, generally excellent in outline, but lacking somewhat in detail. If there were fewer of them we believe they would be better. We must confess that, on the whole, we prefer Keats's handling and development of the Grecian fables. Keats oftener falls into error than Mr. Morris; but he also flies higher, and has the loftier poetic soul.

Mr. Morris is evidently a scholar, and very industrious. We judge that he goes to work to "build the lofty rhyme" with very much of the spirit for painstaking of a market-gardener cultivating a field of cabbages and turnips. He does not wait for inspiration, but generally gets along without it. He is usually correct in language, and tolerably so in versification. Yet he seems, on the whole, to regard quantity rather than quality, and

in his haste to complete his appointed tale of rhymes overlooks many obvious imperfections. His language is frequently crude or commonplace, as, for instance:

> "Then answered they indeed
> That our departing made their hearts to bleed,
> But with no long words prayed us still to stay,
> And I remembered me of that past day,
> And somewhat grieved I felt that so it was." (P. 53.)

And again:

> "My lord, the tale
> Of what came after, none knoweth
> Better than he who from ill death
> Saved me that tide, and made me man,
> My lord, the Sub-Prior Adrian.
> . . . .
> A charcoal-burner's lad, who said
> That soon his father would be dead,
> And that of all things he would have
> His rights, that he his soul might save." (P. 118.)

This is childish, and will not suit the requirements of the present day in what pretends to be poetry, though it would be tolerated in the poets of the era of Chaucer. There are many similar passages which we might quote. Here is one a little more silly:

> "Now Crœsus, lying on his bed a-night,
> Dreamed that he saw his dear son lying low,
> And folk lamenting he was slain outright,
> *And that some iron thing had dealt the blow;*
> By whose hand guided he could nowise know." (P. 340.)

Again:

> "So now will I let these things be
> And think of some unknown delight."

By what psychological power one can think of things unknown we are not informed; the author ought to possess the secret; but if so, we fear he will let it perish with him.

His rhymes are often shockingly imperfect, and not "allowable" by the most lax rules of the compilers of rhyming dictionaries. For specimens of such we have, as above quoted, "knoweth" and "death;" on page 95, there are "lieth" and "death," and "king" and "nothing," and on page 328 we find "dazed" and "erased."

Many others could be pointed out. Of halting and utterly wretched metre, of which there are too many examples, take this specimen:

> "A queen I was, what gods I knew I loved,
> *And nothing evil was in my thought.*" (P. 331.)

Mr. Morris's great error is evidently copying too closely the style of Chaucer—its defects as well as its excellences. He forgets that English poetic art, especially as respects versification, has made great advances since that early day. The classical simplicity and directness of Chaucer and other early English writers are very well, but as models of style it would be

safer to follow the later poets. At any rate, a mere imitator of early classic models is not up to the requirements of the present age.

On the whole, however, we are disposed to consider this volume a creditable one to its author. We are the more inclined to commend him because he so modestly assures us that he has not attempted what he knew he could not accomplish. He is a versifying romancer. Classed among poets, he does not take a high rank; but he is one of the best of later times in his department. He is not a Shelley, a Tennyson, nor a Mrs. Browning. He has not, and does not claim, a keen perception of the highest spiritual truths; he gives the world no new light on social questions; he has no intimate knowledge of the human heart. He has no prevailing sympathy with general humanity; he is not animated, to any lofty extent, by the spirit of *love*, which makes the greatest poets and most blesses our race; he is not impelled to give us revelations of his inner life, and we feel that he had none such to give that would greatly benefit us.

His command of idiomatic English is remarkable. His imagination is vivid, but sensuous. He has an eye for the external forms of beauty, but little perception of their animating spirit. He is no metaphysician, and no humanitarian in any lofty sense. But while he does us no great amount of good, he does us no harm. His dreams are innocent and pleasing, and his garrulous romancing may help to pass some hours which we cannot more profitably employ.

EDUCATION.

American Philological Society. New-York, November, 1868.

In no country does elementary education receive more attention than it does in our own. This is highly commendable; and we hope that the class to whom it is principally due will not relax their efforts in favor of the dissemination of knowledge. This is not sufficient, however; if we wish to rival the great enlightened nations of the Old World in intellectual culture, we must study and investigate as they do. It is idle to deny that we are much behind even the most tardy and backward of them in this respect. The standard of our higher education is far too low; even in our colleges, with few exceptions, no thoroughness is attained. Languages which should be familiar to every college student are read by those of our institutions with as much difficulty as the inscriptions on ancient monuments and coins are read by students of the corresponding grades in the great colleges of Europe. This is no new discovery on our part; we have persistently been urging the fact these nine years past, although quite aware that in doing so we were rendering ourselves quite unpopular with a certain class of professors.

We have always thought that, in order to create a taste for the higher grade of education, we must have learned societies worthy of the name—

not mere societies of mutual admiration, of which we have long had an abundance. There are materials enough for the right kind—at least sufficient to begin with. It now affords us pleasure to inform our readers that the good work has been commenced. As might have been expected from the character of that institution, the initiative has been taken by the University of the City of New-York. Early in November last, Prof. George F. Comfort, of the University, addressed notes to such as were supposed to be in favor of elevating the standard of scholarship in this country, politely inviting them to a meeting to be held in the office of the Chancellor of the New-York University, on November 13th, "to consider the feasibility of organizing and sustaining an *American Philological Society*." Among others we were favored with an invitation ourselves, and we would most gladly have availed ourselves of it had we not been absent from the city until it was too late to attend. But a learned friend who was more fortunate than ourselves has kindly given us an account of the proceedings. The meeting was quite large and interesting—some forty of the leading linguists of this city and vicinity were present; some twenty that had promised to be present sent their regrets at being detained, and some thirty others who could not come had written that they strongly approve of the object of the meeting. This, it will be admitted even by those who are least sanguine, was a good beginning.

Dr. Ferris, the Chancellor of the University, having taken the chair made an appropriate and forcible speech, approving the design of the society, and welcoming the meeting to the University. Having been called upon for that purpose, Prof. Comfort then proceeded to give his ideas of a philological society—a task for which he had fully qualified himself by attending the sessions of the principal similar societies of Paris and Berlin, during his recent extended visit to Europe. We may remark, in passing, that all who would succeed in any great enterprise must pursue this course. Enthusiasm is not sufficient even when it is combined with profound theoretical knowledge. Even the great Richelieu did not undertake to lay the foundation of the famous French Academy until he had first travelled and visited every institution from the working of which he might learn any facts that would aid him in forming the outline of his great plan for the encouragement of the higher efforts of the intellect. Nor were the pains thus taken by Prof. Comfort without their effect on the preparatory meeting; after he had presented his views and sustained them by the results of his observation and experience, several short speeches were made approving of the undertaking. Finally, Prof. Comfort was fully authorized to make arrangements for the first meeting, and empowered to call to his aid as large a committee as he might think desirable.

We would earnestly urge our educational friends in all parts of the United States to become members of the American Philological Society. Certainly no professor of languages should fail to do so; indeed we do not believe that any qualified professors will hesitate to enroll their names, aware as they must be of the great results that have been accomplished for science by

means of philology. Even Russia, which is supposed by many to be in a state of semi-barbarism, began long since to appreciate what has been done in this way; in proof of this we need only refer to the *Mithridates* of Prof. Adelung. As for the German philologists, many of them have rendered themselves illustrious; and they will ever be remembered by all capable of appreciating their labors in the universality of their influence, as benefactors not of any one class, school, or creed, but of the human race. Have we not young men enough in our colleges and universities that have the laudable ambition, spirit, and love of knowledge, to emulate the examples of men like Klaproth, De Sacy, the two Humboldts, Bopp, Remusat, and Champollion, in elucidating the great problem of human destiny, and showing how nearly related to each other are races hitherto supposed to have nothing in common save the general outline of physical humanity?

The Life of St. Dominic, and a Sketch of the Dominican Order. With an Introduction. By Most Rev. J. S. ALEMANY, D.D. 16mo, pp. 371. New-York: P. O'Shea. 1867.

We take up this little volume, not for the purpose of either noticing or criticising it as such, but simply because the title-page reminds us of a fraternity to whom Christian civilization owes much more than most Protestants would be likely to suppose. The founder of an order which has exercised such an influence upon many generations of men in all parts of the world cannot but present an instructive study. How St. Dominic is regarded by those who fully believe in his divine mission, it is worth while to inquire, if only that we may properly understand the faith of a considerable and intelligent portion of mankind. Moreover, to properly weigh the good which it cannot be denied the subject of this memoir has accomplished, directly and indirectly, will certainly help us to a knowledge of truth.

There are those whose denominational prejudices are so strong that they seem to consider it a sin even to investigate such a topic, and an almost unpardonable crime to admit that any good could proceed from what they are pleased to regard as a hostile religious source. They will not acknowledge the possibility that, in some respects, themselves may be in error and their opponents right. With this class of mankind it is not worth while to argue. And unhappily they are still numerous; yet the true light of charity, and a disposition to investigate all proper subjects and accept all truth, are gaining ground as an evidence and product of enlightenment.

The founder of the Dominican order was a most extraordinary man. That the work he and his followers have done has greatly benefited mankind no one can doubt who considers the subject from an unprejudiced point of view. For the great cause of education the Dominicans have done and are still doing much. It is no part of our business or object to criticise their religious teachings; all we have to do with is what they have done for the advancement of general learning and science.

The unpretending work before us is an attempt to present the life of St.

Dominic in a shape to be acceptable to English readers. The work of Père Lacordaire, though acknowledged to be superior in many respects, more especially represents French opinions and interests. In addition to the life, we are here furnished with an account of the progress and work of the Dominican order.

Dominic de Guzman was born in 1170, in Old Castile. He belonged to a distinguished family, and received a university education. Entering the priesthood, he became at once distinguished for learning and zeal. He early went on a mission to convert the Albigenses, and seems to have dealt with that unfortunate people in a very Christian spirit. One of the acts for which his memory is especially revered by Catholics was the institution of the Rosary. By anti-Catholics he has been denounced as the founder of the Spanish Inquisition; but there is good reason to believe that the institution bearing that name with which he was connected was an entirely different thing from what it afterward became under royal auspices. In a report presented to the Cortes, and quoted by Père Lacordaire, we are told that "The early inquisitors encountered heresy with no other arms than those of prayer, penitence, and instruction; and this remark applies more particularly to St. Dominic, as we are assured by the Bollandists, as well as Echard and Touron. Philip II. was the real founder of the Inquisition."*

It was at Toulouse that Dominic laid the foundation of the order which bears his name. There were but six persons engaged in the enterprise. We are told in the volume before us that "he had designed an order for preaching and teaching; which for that purpose should apply itself to the study of sacred letters, with the express object of the salvation of souls." (P. 57.)

St. Dominic visiting Rome, Pope Innocent III. took the order under his patronage, and gave it the name which it accepts as its proper designation, that of the "Brothers Preachers."†

Under the impetus of the efforts of Dominic and his co-workers the new order soon spread rapidly over France, Spain, and Portugal, and more gradually over other parts of Europe. Everywhere it was instrumental in founding religious houses, colleges, and schools. The character of its illustrious founder is variously regarded even by Catholics.‡

The miracles attributed to him are at least remarkable as narratives, whatever credence one chooses to give to them. Very few of his works have come down to us, though he is said to have written much.

The spread of the order after the death of its founder was truly wonderful. It has numbered among its members some of the most illustrious names of modern history. Among the most celebrated of these is St. Tho-

* "Ils virent aussi avec peine que les commissaires, et surtout les fougueux légat Pierre de Castlenau, employaient plus souvent les bourreaux et la terreur que la persuasion. Dominique fit à cet sujet quelques observations, qui furent momentanément écoutées."—*Nouvelle Biog. Gén.*, t. xiv. p. 496.

† *Ib.*, t. xiv. p. 497.

‡ Dominique a été juge très-diversement, tous pourtant s'accordent à lui reconnaitre du zèle, du savoir, et un grand esprit de charité."—*Ib.*, t. xiv. pp. 498, 499.

mas Aquinas, whose name would confer honor upon any fraternity.* The famous Savonarola was also a member of the order.

Upon the New World and its development the Dominican order has exercised no inconsiderable influence. On the vessel which bore Columbus on his voyage of discovery were three friars, one of whom was a Dominican. The first Christian mission opened in America was established by this brotherhood. The noble Las Casas depended chiefly upon the members of this order to assist him in carrying out his humanitarian work among the aborigines. Through him the order obtained a footing in Mexico which it still retains.

After the Reformation, the order greatly languished; but within the last half-century it has revived so much in the principal Catholic countries of Europe as nearly to have regained its ancient *prestige*. In our own country, it has obtained no great foothold, but we understand that efforts are being made to establish it there. With no interest but for the spread of enlightenment, and no fears that right will not finally triumph, we are ready to welcome most heartily any genuine civilizing influence that may benefit any portion of our fellow-creatures.

Speaking of the Dominicans always reminds us of their great rivals in well-doing, the Franciscans. If a Dominican friar had the honor of sailing with Columbus in search of a new world, so had a Franciscan friar; and if the former did all in his power to aid the good Las Casas in his noble efforts to protect the Indians from the cruel exactions of the Spanish soldiery, so did the latter. Whatever may be our prejudices, we are bound to remember that the representatives of these two orders were the first to preach the religion of Christ on this continent; they were also the first Europeans who gave literary instruction to the conquered Aztecs.

But it seems that thus far the Franciscans have made more progress in the United States as educators than the Dominicans; although we understand that the latter are now energetically at work laying the foundations of several seminaries and colleges in different parts of the country. Having recently had the pleasure of conversing with one of the reverend fathers who are particularly charged with this work, we do not doubt that it is destined to prove eminently successful. We may remark, in passing, that they have an excellent opening in New York, where the Jesuits, though, in general, excellent teachers elsewhere, have utterly failed thus far. There is an order in New York, however, whose record is the reverse in this respect; for in proportion as our New York Jesuits have lagged or degenerated as educators, the Christian Brothers have made rapid strides in advance.

But we cannot dismiss the Franciscans, even in so brief a sketch as this, without giving some idea of the progress which we have observed they are making. They have established at least one institution—St. Bonaventure's College, Allegany, Cattaraugus county, New York—which, we are glad to learn, is already in a prosperous condition. We have not yet been able to

* *Vide* NAT. QR. REV., No. xxiii., June, 1868, art. "Thomas Aquinas and his Writings."

visit it; but an educational friend, on whose judgment and fidelity we have implicit faith, has favored us with an outline of its history, from which we subjoin an extract, feeling satisfied that it will be more or less interesting to all who, let their religious faith be what it may, are in favor of the great cause of education:

"The late Nicholas Devereux, Esq., of Utica, having visited Rome in 1854, applied to the Irish College of St. Isidore for Fathers of the Franciscan order, to found a mission here, offering five thousand dollars and two hundred acres of land for the new convent. He wished seven fathers in order to begin the mission; but as so many could not be spared at the time, it was resolved to defer the colony for two years. The late Bishop Timon was at the time in Rome, and, from his zeal, objected to such delay. On this, some of the fathers so earnestly besought the General of the order for permission to go and restore the Franciscans in that part of the world, where their brethren had been the first apostles, that he consented. Of this new colony, Very Rev. Fr. Pamfilo da Magliano was appointed the Superior. He was, at the time of his appointment, professor of theology in the Irish Franciscan College of St. Isidore, Rome. They landed in New York on the 19th June, 1855, and soon after laid the foundation of this institution. Since, however, much has been done. The college now forms the left wing of the main building, the convent for the fathers the left, and the new church the centre. All is of brick, faced with stone. The church is one hundred and fifteen feet in length, by forty-five in width, with a cupola ninety-five feet from the floor. They have also erected a convent for the Sisters of the third order of St. Francis at a short distance from them, in which they keep boarders.

"The class of theology numbers forty, and that of philosophy twelve. Those in the junior department are more numerous.

"The buildings are situated within half a mile of the village of Allegany, and three of that of Olean; the New York and Erie Railroad passes in front, and the river Allegany flows at the rear. It is one of the most healthy locations in the county, sickness being of very rare occurrence."

We only wish there were fifty other orders, each equally animated by the same noble zeal to establish colleges and seminaries in all parts of the United States. We should think ourselves foolish if we objected to them merely because their theological views are somewhat different from our own.

Pastoral Letter of the Rt. Rev. JAMES ROOSEVELT BAILEY, Bishop of Newark. 1868.

It is not our habit to take up documents of this kind, either for notice or review; we have reviewed only one other pastoral letter in nine years; partly because they seldom fall into our hands, and partly because we examine no publication that is exclusively theological. But let what is interesting to our readers in a moral, social, or educational point of view reach us in any form, and let its author be who he may, we shall not fail to give our impressions of it. If the fact that the author is a dignitary of the Catholic Church exercised any influence upon us, it certainly would not be adverse to the merits of his production; without reading a word of it, we should think it much more likely to elicit our approbation than our censure. At the same time, if upon examination we felt that censure was deserved, we should not shrink from passing it. Fortunately, it is but rarely we have had to perform so disagreeable a duty; never twice in our life; and we are glad that, far from making the present instance the second in the unpleasant category, we feel it incumbent on us to call the attention of

our readers of all denominations to certain views and suggestions in Bishop Bailey's "Pastoral."

We have often endeavored to show ourselves, in these pages and elsewhere, that, if a certain class of our adopted citizens commit more crimes than others, the fact does not arise from any inherent turpitude, and that still less could it be fairly attributed to their religion. The real cause is well explained by Bishop Bailey as follows:

"Every Catholic heart has been obliged to mourn over the evils which have followed upon a too rapid emigration, especially that which was induced by the famine in Ireland. The names in the records of police courts and criminal calendars in our large cities *tell but too plainly what has been the result with a large number of the children of those who were thus suddenly torn away* from the salutary influence of home and family, and thrown, without sufficient protection, into the midst of vice and temptation." (P. 3.)

There never was a similar emigration without similar consequences. It will not do to contrast the Germans with the Irish in this respect. Assuming that more of the latter than of the former are criminals, it should be borne in mind that the Germans had not to run away from a famine; that at no time were they so much oppressed as the Irish, and that what is perhaps still more, while from time immemorial the former had an opportunity of obtaining at least the rudiments of education, it was not until within a comparatively recent period that the latter were allowed to receive any education, even at their own expense.

We do not pretend to be pious, but we agree with the bishop that religious education should be combined with intellectual culture, at least to a certain extent; although we can not go so far as to admit that ignorance would be better for society than education, without the knowledge of religion which could be obtained at common schools. Doubtless most of our readers would agree with us in this; but the bishop forcibly portrays the results of the present system; and however disagreeable the admission may be, few will deny that he is as truthful as he is eloquent in the following passage:

"But as Christians, believing that the doctrines and principles of Christianity are the necessary basis of any permanent greatness, we sorrow over the folly of a people who, whilst they are laboring to build up a magnificent edifice, are at the same time destroying the foundations on which it rests. It is absurd to talk of morality as separated from religion and positive dogma. Christian virtue requires constant self-denial, and no person or people will practise self-denial merely to satisfy a sentiment. No one who dwells upon the result of the popular education of this country, *as exhibited in commercial and business transactions, in the halls of legislation and political combinations*, can deny that the whole American mind is much more strongly imbued with the principles of Benjamin Franklin than with those of the Christian catechism; and whilst all reflecting and religiously disposed persons are lamenting over these things, declaring that with few exceptions there is no longer any family with its sacred influences; no longer *any children over five years old;* no longer any obedience, or reverence, or honesty; that our young women think only of dress and amusement, and are unfit to be wives or mothers; that *our public men are seeking only their own interests;* that *real statesmanship has departed from amongst us;* that neither the men nor the principles of the olden time exist any longer; they do not point out the real cause of all this, nor attempt to correct it. It is all very well to talk about the American atmosphere and the

spirit of the country; but the American atmosphere, in this sense of the word, and the spirit of the country, result directly from the whole training of the American mind and character. Everybody *is talking about education, the advantages of education, the necessity of education, and yet almost all* have come to use the word in its narrowest and most imperfect meaning, as implying mere cultivation of the intellectual faculties, and even this is done in the most superficial manner, by *cramming the mind with facts, instead of making it reflect and reason.* The great majority *even of those who write upon the subject* take no higher view. They seem to have forgotten that education, in any proper sense of the word, must take into account *the whole nature* of man, and his eternal as well as temporal destiny; that *it begins with almost the very beginning of life;* that its most important lessons, those which have the greatest effect upon the future, are learned in early youth, and that if the heart and soul *be not then imbued* with the love and fear of God and *the truths of religion, they probably never will be.*" (Pp. 6, 7.)

Neither Protestant nor Catholic can deny that this is sound logic. There is, in fact, nothing sectarian in it. The most eminent thinkers of all Christian denominations, including Tillotson, Burnet, Newton, and Locke, as well as Fénélon, De Sales, and De La Salle, have earnestly inculcated similar views. Nay, all the principal pagan writers, both Greek and Roman, insisted on combining religion with literature and science in the education of youth. Such as did not do so were regarded as atheists; and thus it was that Socrates was put to death.

But education is not the only subject in which all have an interest that is discussed by Bishop Bailey in the pamphlet before us. What he has said on fairs, picnics, and excursions, justly entitle him to the thanks of every good citizen. We make room, most cheerfully, for one extract more:

"'Experience has shown that, on account of the large and indiscriminate character of these gatherings, [fairs, picnics, etc.,] it has become very difficult to keep them from becoming occasions of sin and scandal. In consequence of the evils caused by intemperance, we have been compelled to make very severe regulations in regard to those persons who sell drink at improper times, and to drunkards; and it seems to us hardly consistent to permit similar practices, apparently under the auspices of the church, on the occasions referred to. Having, therefore, carefully weighed the whole matter, we have come to the conclusion, on account of those abuses, *positively to prohibit for the future, the sale of all intoxicating liquors, strong wines, and beer,* at *all picnics, fairs, and excursions,* and we hereby require the clergy of the diocese *to discountenance and to hinder their people from attending any picnic, excursion or fair, where such things are sold.* If we can not have these charitable, social gatherings without making them an occasion of offending God, *it would be better for us to do away with them altogether.*" (Pp. 14, 15.)

This is in the right spirit. Need we say that it should be published in every journal in New-York as well as Newark? It will remind many of the earnest, manly words of the late Archbishop Hughes. We readily admit that at the present Catholic clergy of New York do not need any strong appeals to their sense of duty; it is also true, however, that we have no reason to think that the clergy of Newark are less pious or less conscientious than those of this city and neighborhood. But it should be remembered that an appeal of this character is much more intended to influence the people than their pastors, for the reason that it is the former who need it most. It may be that similar appeals are made at the present day in the diocese of New York, although we see or hear nothing of them. At

all events, it will be generally admitted that such are quite as much needed here as they are in Newark, or in any other city on this continent; but, unfortunately, it is not those who need the most enlightened and skilful physicians, whether for body or soul, that always have them!

HISTORY.

The History of Civilization. By AMOS DEAN, LL.D. In seven volumes. Vol. I. 8vo., pp. 695. Albany, N. Y.: Joel Munsell. 1868.

To attempt to write a history of civilization, to trace the progress of enlightenment, and to interpret correctly the causes which induced, and the developments which have marked the advancement of mankind is a daring undertaking. None but those confident of possessing the highest order of talent should undertake such a work. Even conscious ability might well shrink from the task which is worthy of a divine intellect. But a well-trained mind, possessed of great abilities, earnest in its search after truth, and willing to devote itself for a sufficient time to the severest labor, may conscientiously set itself to such a work with the assurance that, whether or not its ideal excellence be attained, the results must be highly beneficial to mankind.

Such a mind, we believe, was that of the late Professor Dean, and such a work is that of which the initial volume is before us. Professor Dean was long well and favorably known to the public for his attainments, his works of usefulness, and his excellent character. The legacy which he has left in his *History of Civilization* will still more endear him to the present and the future. A biographical memoir prefixed to the present volume gives an outline of his life.

He was a self-made man. In his youth he struggled with poverty, and by his own industry, impelled by a thirst for knowledge, he laid the foundation for his career of honor and usefulness. His history, in this respect, is the same in its general outlines with that of many of our most distinguished men and greatest benefactors. He was obliged to labor on his father's farm, attending school only in the winters, but improving every opportunity for advancement. He taught a district school to procure means for further education. He was graduated at Union College with the second honor. He then went to Albany, where he commenced his distinguished career as a lawyer. He early interested himself in educational enterprises, and was connected successively with the Albany Medical College, the Albany Law School, and the University of Iowa, and again with the Albany Law School, where he continued until his death, which occurred in January, 1868. Besides his educational lectures and addresses upon various topics, he published a work on *The Philosophy of Human Life* and one upon *Commercial Law.* His great work, however, was his *History of Civilization*, upon which he spent thirty years in writing and three

more in revision. It was not completed to his satisfaction in time for publication before his death.

Dr. Dean improves upon Bolingbroke's saying, that "History is philosophy teaching by examples," by giving us as his view that it is "God teaching by examples." This indicates the spirit which he brings to his work. Philosophy may be true or false, or it may be partially true and false. Our author goes at once to the source of all truth, Deity. He further tells us that he understands history to be "a record of human progress." "Its revelations," he says, "rest mainly upon three sources of evidence—the monument, the man, the written record." In regard to the primary law of human nature he says:

"All rational existence is given subject to one condition, to the operation of one uniform law—the law of progression. The man must walk forth from the boy; the civilized from the savage. The man advances by a successive separation and development of his powers; humanity by a successive reparation and development of her elements." (P. 7.)

Proceeding to the subject of ethnography, Professor Dean develops his ideas and displays his erudition in a satisfactory manner. He has no pet theories, like the brilliant Buckle; announces no startling proposition like that of the last-named author concerning the connection of volcanoes with the development of the poetic talent. We feel that he is desirous, not to excite admiration for his own originality, but to arrive at reliable truth. We are especially impressed with the common-sense character of his views and of his handling of the subject. Here is one of his general principles:

"One conclusion very generally, if not universally, arrived at is that men, although distributed into ethnic diversities, have nevertheless everywhere and at all times composed but one race; that the human species is distinct from every other, and includes within it all men of human form and language. The widest generalizations of ethnology would perhaps exclude any other conclusion." (P. 22.)

Tracing the development of languages, we cannot but admire his lucidity of method and accuracy of statement, but have not space to follow him. Concerning the dead languages and the causes of their disuse, we have this striking statement:

"When a language becomes stereotyped by its literature, and thus loses its capability of change, its natural life ceases, and its existence becomes merely artificial. Hence the so-called classical languages have become dead, being like the stagnant lakes by the side of great rivers, or like the frozen surface of a river, brilliant and smooth, but stiff and cold. They have yielded up their life as a penalty for their greatness. They are embalmed in the forms of their own highly-wrought grammar, but their vitality has gone into living dialects." (Pp. 30, 31.)

The changes which have taken place in the physique of races is an interesting subject. For instance, we are told that the ancient Gauls or Celts were "tall of stature, fair, and red-haired," etc., while the modern type "is a small frame, with dark hair, swarthy complexion, and darkish

or black eyes." (P. 33.) The ancient Germans had universally red hair and blue eyes, while their modern successors exhibit considerable variety in more respects. The Slavonians show much diversity of complexion and other physical features in different countries, thus proving that the same race becomes changed in personal appearance when subjected to different climatic conditions.

Prof. Dean finds no difficulty in dealing with the question—which has excited so much contention—of harmony between divine revelation and the discoveries of science. On this point he says:

"The genealogies given us since the time of Abraham have been obviously condensed. Why may we not suppose that the antediluvian and ante-Abrahamic genealogies have also been condensed? St. Matthew omitted names from the ancestry of our Lord for the purpose of equalizing the three great periods over which he passes. Moses may have done the same in order to bring out seven generations from Adam to Enoch, and ten from Adam to Noah. Should future discoveries bring to light evidence of a higher antiquity of the race than has hitherto been supposed, it would not impeach the authority of Scripture. As the sacred record does not profess to teach chronology, but only to state a few facts of early history, the generalities under which it states them are sufficient to admit large portions of time to be properly embraced within them." (Pp. 46, 47.)

There are, according to Prof. Dean, six great elements of humanity—industry, religion, society, government, philosophy, and art—and he gives us this account of their several natures:

"Industry is founded on the idea of the useful, religion on that of the holy or divine, society on that of the agreeable, government on that of the just, philosophy on that of the true in itself, and art on that of the beautiful or sublime." (P. 63.)

Concerning each of these elements he gives us a thoughtful statement. "Society," he says, "is the dispenser of reputation. It can enforce its own decrees by its own peculiar sanction. It rewards its favorites by conferring upon them a desirable reputation. It punishes its delinquents or enemies by dispensing to them the miseries of a blasted name." (P. 65.)

The style of Prof. Dean is always careful and lucid, and generally eloquent. It exhibits much study and elaboration. He often rises to heights of true poetic beauty. His illustrations are frequently striking and beautiful. We had marked several passages of this character, but have room for only this one:

"The volume containing this inspiration could not pass away. The lays of its divinely inspired poets have therefore come down to us. We have the songs of Moses, and of Deborah, and of Hannah; those of David, the thanksgiving of Hezekiah, the book of Job, a great part of the prophet Isaiah, and the Lamentations of Jeremiah. In poetry was chanted the song of praise and thanksgiving; and, not unfrequently, in numbers flowed forth the soul of prophecy. In these works of the inspired poets are found sentiments the most pure, descriptions the most sublime, and conceptions the most beautiful and grand, that are anywhere to be met with in any language. We undoubtedly fail in preserving in the translation the full

beauty that was contained in the original; and yet where shall we look for more expressive figures, or more splendid imagery, or vaster conceptions, or more truly beautiful and sublime thoughts than to Moses, and to Isaiah, and to David? No one but an Hebrew poet ever thought of 'making the clouds his chariot,' or of describing him as 'walking upon the wings of the wind.'" (P. 628.)

What gives us especial confidence in Prof. Dean is the evidence he exhibits of a firm religious faith. He keeps constantly in view the divine light of inspiration, and never allows a mania for speculation to lead him into by-paths of error. In this, particularly, he exhibits his superiority to Buckle. Mooted questions which cannot be harmonized with revelation by the light we have, he does not discuss. He does not attempt to decide between the opposing theories of development, according to the Darwinian interpretation, and of special creations—whether God acts fitfully in bringing new forms into existence, or constantly as the ever-animating spirit of all nature. Judging from the volume before us, the work is a praiseworthy evidence and faithful account of the progress of civilization.

Symbolism; or, Exposition of the Doctrinal Differences between Catholics and Protestants, as evinced by their Symbolical Writings. By JOHN ADAM MÖHLER, D.D., Dean of Wurzburg and late Professor of Theology at the University of Munich. Translated from the German, with a Memoir of the Author. Preceded by an Historical Sketch of the State of Protestantism and Catholicism in Germany for the last Hundred Years. By JAMES BURTON ROBERTSON, Esq., translator of F. Schlegel's Philosophy of History. Third Edition, 8vo, pp. 504. New-York: The Catholic Publication House.

A profound work, exhibiting extensive research and a philosophic mind. It is not so much controversial or polemical, as historical and critical, and is thus calculated to reach a larger number, and to be considered in a better frame of mind. It does not directly attack the tenets it opposes, but seems to aim to present all sides of a controverted doctrine fairly and lucidly. Of course the conclusions reached are always favorable to the Catholic religion, in whose interest the work was written. Yet these conclusions seldom, if ever, appear to be forced, and are often left to be inferred—the author pursuing the suggestive, the better method, rather than the controversial.

Dr. Möhler was well known in Germany as one of the most learned Catholic divines of his time. The substance of this work was originally delivered in lectures upon the differences between Catholics and Protestants. It was published at an important epoch of religious change and controversy in Germany, and immediately became the text-book of the Catholic disputants. Everywhere it excited attention, and gave rise to controversy between opposing sects. The ablest Protestants found that they had in Dr. Möhler a foeman worthy of their steel, and one whom it would not do to ignore. In this respect, from whatever stand-point we choose to view the questions involved, the publication was undoubtedly productive of good.

It set to work the best Protestant minds to bring forward their tenets and to defend them in the ablest manner.

In another respect the work was beneficial. Realism, mysticism, or refined sensuality, and a more daring infidelity, through the advocacy of such men as Kant, Strauss, Hegel, and Goethe, had gained an alarming ascendency in Germany. German literature of the eighteenth century, wonderful as it is, rests generally upon no enduring basis of faith. It represents a transition period in religious belief, and was, to some extent, the product of the volcanic upheaval of old systems. Brilliant as are the results of that eruption, it is not desirable that the human mind should remain in this chaotic condition. The masses of the people demand a fixed faith; that society must be governed by unalterable laws. It has been often said any religion is better than none, and certainly it is better for men to have a firm faith which teaches rectitude of conduct, although that belief contain errors, than to be guided by no certain rules. A belief in a higher Power who controls our eternal destinies, and who requires us to follow certain moral laws, exercises the best influence over the conduct of men. Whoever assists to restore or quicken a religious belief which produces good social results is a public benefactor. In reawakening religious faith we believe Dr. Möhler to have had a great influence, not only for the benefit of his own church, but for all.

Speaking of the degrees of enlightenment concerning points of faith between Catholics and Protestants, we were surprised to read the following in Dr. Möhler's preface: "How much are Catholics put to shame by the very great activity which Protestants display in this matter." (P. xx.) We had supposed the contrary to be the case among those of the two denominations of similar general enlightenment, but accept the doctor's statement that it was not so with those he knew best.

The Protestant and Catholic dogmas upon the various points of faith are stated with great clearness, and, we believe, with the intention of fairness. Of the general character of Catholic teachings, according to Dr. Möhler, this extract will give an idea:

"As they found the dogmas on which they enlarge, which they explain or illustrate, *already preëxisting*, we must in their labors accurately discriminate between their special and peculiar opinions, and the common doctrines declared by the Church, and received from Christ and the Apostles. As these doctrines existed *prior to* those opinions, so they can exist *after* them, and can therefore be scientifically treated *without* them, and quite *independently* of them. This distinction between individual opinion and common doctrine presupposes a very strongly constituted community, based at once on history, on life, on tradition, and is only possible in the Catholic Church. But, as it is possible, so also it is necessary; for unity in its essence is not identity." (P. 7.)

Of the Protestant system we have this opinion:

"From what has been said, it follows that such a distinction as we speak of between dogma and opinion must be extremely difficult for Protestants. As their whole original system is only an individuality exalted into a gene-

rality; as the way in which the Reformers conceived certain dogmas, and personally thought and lived in them, perfectly coincided, in their opinion, with those dogmas themselves; so their followers have inherited of them an irresistible propensity everywhere to identify the two things." (P. 8.)

It would be useless (in so brief an article) to attempt to analyze Dr. Möhler's statement of the tenets of the opposing systems of which he treats. All the doctrines of religious belief are thoroughly stated. His manner is candid, and his treatment of his opponents is, we believe, intended to be charitable. There is no effort at satire, no symptom of a desire to have the best of the argument at all hazards. Indeed, the work can scarcely be said to be argumentative, but is rather, as we have before observed, historical. The dogmas treated of are principally those respecting the primitive state of man and the origin of evil, original sin, justification, faith, good works, the sacraments, doctrine of the church, and the church in the next world in its connection with the church militant. His statements of the Catholic doctrine of purgatory and invocation of the saints, will perhaps be as interesting as anything we can extract for our readers:

"This custom, which we cannot absolutely abandon, for we are impelled to its exercise by all the power of faith and of love, is not only confirmed by the usages of the most ancient nations, but may be proved to have been authorized by the practice of the primitive church; and is accordingly revered by us as an apostolic tradition. But, moreover, as to the mode of punishment, and the place which purgatory occupies, the church teaches nothing further; for she has, on this point, received no special revelations; and when we use the expression, purifying fire, we employ it only in the usual figurative sense. . . .

"The setting up of the saints by the church as patterns for religious and moral imitation, connected with the doctrine of their intercession in our behalf with God, and of the corresponding invocation of their aid on our parts, constitutes the principle of veneration of saints, which is in the same way related to the supreme worship as the mutual relation existing between creatures is to the state of dependence of them all on their common *Creator and Lord.* Virtuous creatures look with love and reverence on those of their body who were eminently endowed by God, and, in virtue of their love implanted within them, they wish each other all good, and lift up their hands in each other's behalf unto God, who, rejoicing in the love which emanates from himself and binds his creatures together, hears their mutual supplications, in case they be worthy of his favor, and out of the fulness of his power satisfies them; and this no creature is able to accomplish. Moreover, if we are to worship Christ, we are forced to venerate his saints." (Pp. 344-5.)

What we say of this book by way of commendation is in reference to its usefulness if rightly employed. Protestants as well as Catholics may derive benefit from its clear and honest statements of their several dogmas. The former can at least rely upon its accuracy in respect to Catholic tenets, and we think they will find their own doctrines generally stated with fairness. Those who are indifferent to dogmatic differences will find the volume useful for the information it conveys regarding the opposing religious systems.

The Forty-fourth Annual Report of the American Sunday-School Union. Presented at the Annual Meeting, May, 1868. Philadelphia: Sunday-School Union.

The report opens with a memorial and testimonials to the worth of Frederick A. Packard, Corresponding Secretary of the Society, and for thirty-nine years Editor of its publications. The decease of four other Managers is also reported as having occurred during the past year.

The amount of books distributed by the Society during the year embraced in this report was $390,290.56, being a considerable increase over any former year. The contributions to the missionary department for the year were $89,029.78; legacies during the year, $7069.65; interest on book fund, $2406; total for the year, $98,595.43.

The total annual expenditures were $117,986.89, making an excess of expenditures of $19,481.56. Add to this the excess of expenditures of the former year of $10,105.61, and the indebtedness of the missionary department is shown to be $29,587.19, which is, doubtless, rightly characterized as an "incubus" upon such a Society.

In regard to the work done, the grand total of statistics is a very satisfactory exhibit, indicating that the Society has not been spending money for nothing. For instance, the total number of schools organized and aided is, for 1867–8, 8331; the number of scholars in the same, 468,923; amount of donations to the same, $17,787.68; copies of the Scriptures distributed, 9082; families visited, 28,632; miles travelled, 396,501; addresses delivered, 9457. The report adds: "If to the above we could add the number of souls hopefully converted in connection with the schools, of churches grown out of them, of sanctuaries erected, etc., etc., these statistics would be more complete and more valuable."

The details of the Society's missionary work are very interesting, but we have not space to follow them. They embrace a vast field, including nearly every State and territory in the Union. In the South, where such work would seem to be especially needed, the Society has done much, and we are assured that, had it more means, it would have done much more. The great want would seem to be missionaries, of which, we are informed, the Society has sixteen, where two hundred, at least, might find constant and profitable employment. The Rev. Mr. McCullough seems, in this department, to have done an almost incredible amount of work.

The report concludes with a summary of the work done and what seems to be indicated as necessary to be done.

Cradle Lands. By LADY HERBERT. 16mo, pp. 332. New-York: The Catholic Publication Society. 1869.

Mr. Kehoe, the general agent of the Catholic Publication Society, is entitled to much credit for the excellent taste he displays in getting up its books. The volume now before us is a very good specimen, and we have lately seen several others, bearing the imprint of the society, which compare favorably, in typography, paper, and binding, with the best samples of American book-making.

The contents of Lady Herbert's book are eminently worthy of the chaste and handsome style in which it is issued; and we see no reason why Protestants, as well as Catholics, should not derive both pleasure and profit from its perusal. The authoress makes no high pretensions in introducing her book. She merely informs us that it is the result of a tour through Egypt and Syria in search of health, and that she hopes it "may be of interest to those who have already trodden in the same steps, and induce others to follow them," etc.

That this modest hope will be realized we have not the least doubt. The following titles of some of the chapters will give the reader an idea of what may be expected in the book, namely, Alexandria, Cairo, and Upper Egypt; From Cairo to Jerusalem; Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre; Carmel and Beyrout; Damascus and Lebanon; Asia Minor and Ephesus, etc. The reputation of Lady Herbert as an author, her taste for antiquarian research, and her fervent but cheerful piety, afford a sufficient guarantee of her ability to invest such topics with a lively interest. The attractiveness of *Cradle Lands*, as a Christmas-book, is enhanced not a little by several original illustrations of considerable artistic merit.

POLITICAL ECONOMY AND ARCHITECTURE.

Report of the Secretary of the Treasury on the State of the Finances for the Year 1868. 8vo. pp. 69. Washington, 1868.

We are sorry that this important and able paper did not reach us a little earlier, for it is not of the class that ought to be disposed of, by any public writer, in a few brief paragraphs. Could such a report have been written for our guidance by some distinguished political economist of England, France, Germany, or Italy, Congress and the press would have vied with each other in doing him honor. As it is, the author will probably receive more abuse than approbation; more ill-will than gratitude will be evinced toward him. This is all the more certain now when he is likely to retire from office, as if public opinion in the United States were based on the ancient Locrian precept, "He has done his work well; if you cannot scandalize him, at least insult him!"

It is a remarkable fact that none of our public men receive ruder treatment at the hands of a certain class of our journalists than those whose abilities attract the attention and elicit the praise of those who may be called the leaders of public opinion in Europe. There has certainly been no exception in the case of Mr. McCulloch; statesmen and eminent political economists of England, France, and Switzerland, have vied with each other in awarding high praise to his financial system; but strangely enough, in proportion as this has been done abroad, has he had all kinds of abusive, depreciatory epithets applied to him at home.

We are glad to see that all this does not induce our manly and straight-

forward Secretary to swerve in the slightest degree from the course which he thinks best calculated to promote the public interest; nor does it seem to disturb his equanimity or mar his good humor. In the report now before us he persists in maintaining those views which have given his system a distinctive character and a European fame, and the soundness of which is proved by the experience of the most enlightened nations and the testimony of the most eminent statesmen; but far from evincing any arrogance in doing so, he adduces his arguments with the courteous diffidence of a subordinate officer addressing his superiors in knowledge as well as in rank. Indeed, there are very few subordinate officers at the present day capable of maintaining their views so modestly; whereas there is no more important position in the gift of any government, republican or monarchical, than that of the manager of its finances; and accordingly it is one that has been held, as we have shown on former occasions, by the most eminent statesmen.

Our readers have been familiar for years with our views on paper money; we need hardly say, therefore, that we fully concur with Mr. McCulloch in the following:

"If there is any question in finance or political economy which can be pronounced settled by argument and trial, it is, that inconvertible and depreciated paper money is *injurious to public and private interests*, a positive *political and financial evil*, for which there can be but one justification or excuse, to wit: a temporary necessity arising from an unexpected and pressing emergency; and it follows, consequently, that such a circulation should only be tolerated until, without a financial shock, it can be withdrawn or made convertible into specie. If an irredeemable bank-note circulation is an evidence of *bankrupt* or badly *managed banking institutions*, which should be deprived of their franchises, or compelled to husband and make available their resources in order that they may be prepared at the earliest day practicable to take up their dishonored obligations, *why should not an irredeemable government currency be regarded as an evidence of bad management of the national finances, if not of national bankruptcy?*" (P. 3.)

This is a question which those in favor of paper money will find it difficult to answer; and there are several other questions in the same pamphlet to which abuse can be much more easily applied than sound logic. After discussing the subject at some length, Mr. McCulloch proceeds to make suggestions, which, we doubt not, will also excite the indignation of a certain class of political economists:

"The Secretary still adheres to the opinion so frequently expressed by him, that a reduction of the paper circulation of the country until it appreciated to the specie standard was the true solution of our financial problem. But as this policy was emphatically condemned by Congress, and it is now too late to return to it, he recommends the following measures as the next best calculated to effect the desired result:

"Agreements for the payment of coin seem to be the only ones, *not contrary to good morals*, the performance of which cannot be enforced in the courts. 'Coin contracts' executed before the passage of the legal-tender acts, as well as those executed since, are satisfied in all the States except California by the payment of the amounts called for in depreciated notes. *This shackle upon commerce, this check upon our national progress*, this restriction upon individual rights, should no longer be continued. If it be admitted that the condition of the country during the war, and for a time after its close, created a necessity for laws and decisions

making promissory notes (fluctuating in value *according to the result of battles and of speculative combinations*) the medium in which contracts should be discharged, this necessity no longer exists. Steps should now be taken to give stability to business and security to enterprise; and to this end SPECIFIC CONTRACTS TO BE EXECUTED IN COIN should at once be legalized." (Pp. 5, 6.)

No honest man who knows anything of political economy will deny this. The moral aspects of the case are not overlooked by the Secretary; he shows that under existing circumstances we have no right to be surprised at the systematic frauds by which the government is deprived of so much of its revenue:

"The people are compelled to take *as money what is not money;* and becoming demoralized by its constantly changing value, they are in danger of losing that *sense of honor* in their dealings *with the government* and *with each other which is necessary for the well-being of society.* It is vain to expect on the part of the people a faithful fulfilment of their duties to the government as long as the government *is faithless to its own obligations;* nor will those who do not hesitate to defraud the public revenues long continue to be scrupulous *in their private business.*" (P. 4.)

There are not many public functionaries who have the manliness to utter such truths as these; if there were, the public morals would not be at the low ebb they are. But unfortunately there are those who have not a little influence that seem to have no particular objection to this state of things; there are far too many who are very willing to be demoralized as long as it is made worth their while "to take as money what is not money." Be it remembered, that what is in reality not money, as the Secretary says, to the public at large, serves certain parties as well as the finest gold; and is it not perfectly natural that this class are entirely satisfied with our present currency, and for the same reason, entirely *dis*satisfied with those who would set it aside? The greatest injury that ever was inflicted on a country has enriched some individuals of its inhabitants; this is true even of invasion and conquest; and those who are enriched view the whole matter in a very different light from the people at large who are ruined by the same means.

It is worthy of remark that precisely the same class who are in favor of retaining our paper currency for an indefinite period, are also in favor of sending our bonds to Europe on as large a scale as possible. We can not say, however, that there is anything strange in this; such a coincidence is to be expected; but one theory is as false as the other, and, if carried to the same extent, quite as injurious. After discussing the transfer or export question at some length, and pointing out its real tendency, the Secretary proceeds to sum up as follows:

"These manifest truths indicate how important it is that the debt of the United States should be *a home debt;* so that the money which is collected for taxes may be paid to opnwiuevntoloerp he way of interest. In fact, a large national debt *to be tolerable must of necessity be a home debt.* A nation that owes heavily must *have its own people for creditors.* If it does not, the debt will be a *dead weight upon its industry,* and will be *quite likely to force it eventually into bankruptcy.*" (P. 11.)

This accords with the experience of every nation of Europe that has had

a large debt to pay; but there are many whose interest it is to increase the number of our foreign debtors, on the same principle that there are many who are quite disgusted at the idea of discarding our paper currency, or resuming specie payments. It is natural enough that one class as well as the other should object to any interference with the stock market on the part of the manager of our finances, and even try to make it appear that such interference implies official malfeasance. But this neither frightens Mr. McCulloch nor excites his anger; he disposes of the whole affair in a manner that will satisfy every intelligent mind. We must conclude our extracts with the Secretary's excellent remarks on this subject:

"Complaint has been made that, in the administration of the Treasury Department since the war, there has been too much of interference with the stock and money market. This complaint, when honestly made, has been the result of a *want of reflection*, or of imperfect knowledge of the financial condition of the government. The transactions of the Treasury have, *from necessity*, been connected with the stock and money market of New York. If the debt after the close of the war had been a funded debt, with nothing to be done in relation to it but to pay the accruing interest, or if business had been conducted on a specie basis, and consequently been free from the constant changes to which it has been and must be subject—as long as there is any considerable difference between the legal and commercial standard of value—the Treasury could have been managed with entire independence of the stock exchange or the gold room. Such, however, was not the fact. More than one half of the national debt, according to the foregoing exhibits, consisted of temporary obligations, which were to be paid in lawful money, or converted into bonds; and there was in circulation a large amount of *irredeemable promises constantly changing in their convertible value.* The Secretary, therefore, *could not be indifferent to the condition of the market, nor avoid connection with it*, for it was in fact with the market he had to deal. He would have been happy had it been otherwise. If bonds were to be sold to provide the means for paying the debts that were payable in lawful money, it was a matter of great importance to the Treasury that the price of bonds should not be depressed by artificial processes. If the seven-thirty notes were to be converted into five-twenty bonds, it was equally important that they should sustain such relations to each other, in regard to prices, that conversions would be effected. If bonds were at a discount, the notes would be presented for payment in legal tenders; and these could only be obtained by further issues, or the sale of some kind of securities. For three years, therefore, the *state of the market has been a matter of deep solicitude to the Secretary.* If he had been indifferent to it, or failed carefully to *study* the *influences that controlled it*, or had hesitated to exercise the power with which Congress had clothed him, for successfully funding the temporary debt by conversions or sales, *he would have been false to his trust.* The task of converting a thousand millions of temporary obligations into a funded debt, on a market constantly subject to natural and artificial fluctuations, without depressing the prices of bonds, and without disturbing the business of the country, however it may be regarded now, when the work has been accomplished, was, while it was being performed, an exceedingly delicate one. It is but *simple justice* to say, that its successful accomplishment is in a great measure attributable *to the judicious action* of the Assistant Treasurer at New York, Mr. Van Dyck."

So much for the great charge of "stock-jobbing" against the Secretary; it was something like pretending to brand the Attorney-General as a spy for making such inquiries as are necessary to detect and punish crime! It will be admitted by all unprejudiced men who have any knowledge of the subject, that no similar tribute was ever more eminently deserved than that paid by the Secretary to the efficiency and integrity of Mr. Van Dyck. To this we have only room to add that the day will come when it will be ac-

knowledged by all, in and out of Congress, capable of judging, that our finances were never managed with so comprehensive a sagacity or so much statesmanlike ability as they have been during the last four years; and we very much mistake the character of General Grant if he is not capable of appreciating and remembering the fact.

The Architect and Builder's Guide; an elaborate Description of all the Public, Commercial, Philanthropic, Literary, and Ecclesiastical Buildings already Constructed and about to be Erected next Spring, etc., etc., etc. By JOHN W. KENNION. 8vo. New York: Fizpatrick & Hunter. 1868.

This is one of the most curious specimens of bookmaking we have seen in a long time. If old Vitruvius could rise from his grave, after a sleep of nearly two thousand years, and read it, we fear he would say that, although we have very respectable architects in America in the nineteenth century, their works are very awkwardly described. Yet there is a considerable amount of interesting information in the "Guide." Among an immense quantity of chaff there is some genuine wheat.

The title is somewhat flashy, but it is by no means more so than the general contents. This we should not have wondered at; indeed, we should rather have expected it, did not the gentleman who calls himself the "author" inform us that he is also the author of many other works, including "Hints to Tutoresses," "Death and the Hereafter," "The Importance of the Classics," etc., etc. Surely, thought we, on discovering so brilliant an array, if we have not a Vitruvius of our own at last, we have at least a Montfaucon, a Belzoni, or a Grobert! On proceeding with our researches for some time, however, the conclusion we arrive at is, that if, after all, we have not even the ghost of any of those personages, our architects give us structures to describe that would have been worthy of the graphic genius of the best of them.

We confess we are selfish enough to be all the better pleased at this, from the fact that the most magnificent edifices noticed in the "Guide" are those of our own patrons and friends; for we have the honor of ranking in that category the principal officers of the Park Bank, Steinway & Sons, Gunther & Sons, Solomon & Sons, Devlin & Co., Lord & Taylor, the Brothers Jackson, of Fifth Avenue, Madison Square, etc. If the editorial proprietors of the Herald and Times edifices are not our patrons at present, we have no reason to doubt that they are still our friends.

Without having yet concluded our second decade in this city, we have lived long enough in it to have observed all these establishments gradually expand themselves to their present colossal dimensions—until all possess, to a greater or less extent, a representative character—each confessedly occupying the highest rank in its peculiar sphere. The Park Bank was the first institution of the kind in which we ever had an account, and we intend it to be the last. We do not pretend to have ever had money enough to make it an object to any bank to attend to our little checks. Our deposits have never been large; but the smallest was our first, made eight years ago,

and we shall never forget the kind, courteous manner in which it was received by Mr. J. L. Worth, the present accomplished and esteemed cashier of the institution. He took as much pains with our bagatelle of *uncurrent* money as if we had deposited many thousands, although quite aware that it was by no means certain we could make any new deposit before exhausting the original one. Indeed, we had grave doubts on the subject ourselves, from the experience of the past; but if we had any tinge of superstition in us, we should believe that there was luck in dealing with the Park Bank; for, whatever may be our fortune in the future, we have never been without more or less money from that day to this. Numbers of our friends have assured us that their experience of the Park Bank has been equally agreeable and encouraging; and all concur in the opinion that, while every officer of the bank, from the highest to the lowest, is courteous and obliging, those who have contributed most to the great popularity and distinguished success of the institution are Mr. J. L. Worth and Mr. E. Kellogg Wright.

It would be superfluous for us to describe, at this late day, the magnificent white marble edifice which forms the most conspicuous and beautiful evidence of this success. Our readers at a distance have seen various descriptions of it in the newspapers, while those of New York and vicinity would have been sufficiently familiar with it had no description of it been published. Suffice it for us, therefore, to say that there is no bank building on this continent that approaches it in strength, capaciousness, elegance, and beauty. It has several excellent features that are peculiar, but the *tout ensemble* constitute a veritable model in all the essential requisites of a great banking-house. Its network of iron safes surpasses the similar contrivances of the Bank of England at London; and we doubt whether it is equalled by those of the Imperial Bank of France at Paris. There is this important difference, however, that while the safes or vaults of the Banks of England and France are for the exclusive use of the bankers and their favorites, those of the representative bank of the Western world are as much within the reach of those of our citizens who have occasion for such, as the boxes of the general Post Office.

As the Park Bank is our model banking-house, so is the establishment of Steinway & Sons our model piano-house. The superiority of the Steinway pianos above all other American instruments is as generally acknowledged by all competent, unprejudiced judges, as the unrivalled sublimity of Niagara Falls compared to all other cataracts.* Then, where is the

* There is only one American house that even pretends to compete with the Steinways; and with what success it is done in this solitary case is best shown by the report recently published of the International Jury of the last Paris Exposition, from which we subjoin a brief extract, only premising that since this verdict was given the Messrs. Steinway have made important improvements in their instruments: "The pianos of Messrs. Steinway & Sons are equally endowed with the splendid sonority of their competitor. They also possess the seizing largeness and volume of tone, *hitherto unknown, which fills the greatest space.* Brilliant in the treble, singing in the middle, and formidable in the bass, this sonority acts with *irresistible power* on the organs of hearing. In regard to *expression, delicate shading, variety of accentuation*, the instruments of Messrs. Steinway have *over those of their American competitor an advantage which cannot be contested.*"

American fur-warehouse equal to that of Gunther & Sons, in richness, variety, and elegance? The house of Solomon & Sons surpasses that of any similar establishment in New York, as much as the great temple of the royal Solomon surpassed all other temples. Another distinguished illustration of industry, intelligence, and perseverance combined with rigid honesty and urbanity is the establishment of Devlin & Co. What disinterested person, competent to judge, has questioned the superiority of this house, in its own wide and useful sphere, for twenty years past? Who can do so at the present moment? There may be another dry-goods house or two in New York more extensive than that of Lord & Taylor; but certain it is that there is none anywhere more honorable, none more worthy of its prosperity and success. A distinction equally enviable is enjoyed, in their sphere, by the Brothers Jackson. Who has ever found "foreign ingredients" introduced into *their* teas, sugars, etc.? Who has found their parcels lighter than the figures marked on them?

We trust we may be excused for taking some pride in recording the success of such patrons, and noticing the somewhat remarkable fact that there is now not one of them who does not transact his business in a white marble edifice of palatial dimensions and beauty. What we are particularly proud of is, that men of this distinguished grade are our *exclusive* patrons, and always have been. We may be permitted to add that we have another class of patrons of whom we are, if possible, still prouder than of our merchant princes, namely, presidents and chancellors of colleges, universities, and seminaries, male and female. But altogether independently of the gratitude, which we readily admit we feel, to those who encourage and cheer us, in our labors, by their patronage, we think it should interest all—especially young men—to understand what are the chief means by which great establishments are built up, and invested with an honorable and enduring *prestige*.

Artificial Stone, Stucco, Mastic Cement, etc. Chicago: Hazlitt & Reed. 1868.

A pamphlet bearing this title, which happened to fall into our hands some days since, has interested us not a little; and, supposing that its subject might interest some of our readers still more, we have concluded to give some idea of its contents. We learn from it that a new building material, the principal elements of which are sand and gravel, has been invented and patented by Mr. George A. Frear, of Chicago, and that eminent chemists and architects, as well as intelligent editors, bear testimony to its remarkable durability, etc. The following extract may be regarded as the essence of all that is yet known on the subject:

"We have subjected these stones to the severest tests of frost and heat, to determine their value as a building stone in resisting atmospheric influences. Various artificial and chemical tests have also been made, and we assure the public that they are impervious to water, and exposure to the weather only tends to harden them. We believe this is the only substance of which a thoroughly fire-proof building can be constructed, for it is well known that ordinary limestone or brick are

but little protection against fire. So far as durability is concerned, we believe it will outlast native stone. Who has not either seen or read of the artificial stone made by the old Romans three thousand years ago, and now so hard as to absolutely resist all attempts to cut it with steel? And, if it has once been done, may it not be accomplished again?"

It is proper to say that, had this come to us without any guarantee of its truthfulness, we would have taken no notice of it; but finding the name of Mr. Charles Holland, Secretary of the Provident Life and Investment Insurance Company, pledged to the genuineness of the new material, we know from experience that we ought to have no suspicion of wrong, and we give our opinion accordingly.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Report of the Citizens' Association of New York. New York, December 1st, 1868. 8vo, pp. 48.

We are reminded of a famous classical mountain by this Report—that which was a long time in labor and finally brought forth a ridiculous mouse. The Association evidently depends much on its style of typography for making an impression on those of our citizens who have money to spare and are a little credulous withal, for it does much of its boasting in capital letters. The account it gives of its exploits has far too close a resemblance to that of the truant school-boy who went to the forest on a shooting excursion. First, he fired at a lion, but somehow or other his majesty was not in the least hurt. His next mark was a bear, but Bruin seemed rather to like the noise, and our young sportsman took to his heels and cried lustily for his mother. After about a dozen of adventures of this kind, he was returning home, and, fearing the jeers of his companions, he fired at a tame duck that had formerly lost her right foot; this time he succeeded, and he brought home the fowl in triumph, and tried to palm it off as genuine game!

Our readers will bear us testimony that we have been very willing to aid the Citizens' Association in accomplishing any part of the great results which it so solemnly promised. We have transferred to our pages the pith of many of its charges against certain public functionaries, in the form of extracts, making such comments as the circumstances suggested. This we did under the impression that the charges were true, or at least that the Association honestly believed them to be so. With the same feeling we sent our messenger this morning to the secretary, requesting that he would favor us with copies of any new documents he might have at hand; and what we have received is the Report before us.

We have much respect for Mr. Peter Cooper; we have no doubt that he means well; but the present document convinces us that he permits himself to be used as a cat's paw by persons who have objects of their own to gain. More than once the Report informs us, in capital letters, that "the Association takes no part in politics," etc.; yet it has nothing but censure or abuse for one party, and nothing but eulogy or admiration for the other! As to the power of the Association, we are expected to believe that

it is almost boundless; the State Assembly and Senate, and our metropolitan press, are equally obedient to its will without asking any questions. It has only to hint its wishes; and (with the exception that the "corrupt" party sometimes succeed in their diabolical antagonism to everything that is good) straightway Assembly men, senators, and editors, hasten to carry out those wishes.

Will it be believed that the two greatest exploits the Association has to boast of are the defeat of a bill that contemplated appropriating $500,000 *for the relief of the poor* of this great and wealthy metropolis, and the defeat of another bill that contemplated to expend $500,000 in the erection of a building on Reservoir Square *for the use of the New-York Free College?* It seems to us that this needs no comment.

Does any one acquainted with New York doubt that there are thousands of honest working men, with families depending on their labor, out of employment at this moment? If any such there be, we can assure him that for many years there has not been so much destitution in our city.

But is it a waste of money to erect a new building for the use of the New York Free College? Is the building now used for that purpose half large enough for the number of students crowded into it? We answer that it is certainly not more than *half* the necessary size, if so much.

But it seems that only the "worthy poor" should be relieved. (P. 6.) The unworthy poor should be allowed to starve, rather than that our taxes should be raised. As to the new building that some of the corrupt ones proposed to build in Reservoir Square, we are informed that "the present building is *sufficiently commodious for all proper college purposes*," etc. (P. 10.) If it were larger it is hard to say what conduct the professors as well as the students might be guilty of; but huddled together as both are now, in crowds, they can hardly indulge in any serious vice without being found out!

The Comptroller of New York must necessarily be corrupt, it seems—he is fraudulent *ex officio!* (Vide p. 6.) We expect to see a long series of "charges" against him very soon; but we imagine they will end pretty much like those against his predecessor, Brennan, whose case, curiously enough, is given in the Report before us, as one of the great exploits of the Association.

The Sheriff, too, may expect a Letter very soon, for lately he has not hung or dispossessed half as many as he ought! But why not send a communication to Recorder Hackett? Perhaps it is not generally known to our readers that the Recorder had the temerity, in October last, to call on the Grand Jury to present the Citizens' Association as a public nuisance. Our Grand Jury, however, thought it as harmless as many other associations, and declined to proceed against it. We think this was entirely right. If we are not mistaken, the foreman was aware that there is a lady in one of our asylums who alternately fancies that she is Queen Victoria and the Empress Eugenie; and accordingly she issues despatches, bulletins, etc., to her subjects as often as possible.

But, as already intimated, it is only some "sets of officials" that are distasteful to the Association. Among the happy opposite class stand those of the Board of Health. These, like all others fortunate enough to con-

ciliate our modern *Ephori*, are lauded to the skies. We are told, in a long eulogy, that it

"has already earned *not only our respect and admiration, but also the thanks of all of us*, for keeping from our *hearthstones the footstep of death*. While pestilence stalked through other cities *less blessed with proper health regulations*, and gathered a rich harvest of victims, he was there *boldly met* by our Health Board, fought at our threshold, followed step by step, *night and day, by ceaseless vigilance*, and finally, *instead of becoming a conqueror, was conquered*." (!)

Ah! how admirable! Let no one grumble after this at what we have to pay for "vital statistics." Why, they would be cheap at any price. The pay of "the rank and file of our Fire Department," on the other hand, should be carefully watched, for the corrupt ones want to raise it! (See pp. 8, 9.)

Those willing to believe that a self-elected government is the best, are requested, in various forms, to send in their subscriptions without delay. We give a small specimen of these modest invitations:

"If our capitalists and property-owners would subscribe *more liberally to the funds of the Association*, its efforts could be made more effective."

At page 48 it is further intimated that if our capitalists and merchants would "see it to be to their advantage" to "place at the disposal of the Association *the requisite funds*," etc. That is the point. "Pay here and not there," is the motto!

But we must close our hurried notice. We cannot do so, however, without asking, Would it not be cheaper, and better every way, to suppress all our existing machinery of government and put the supreme power into the hands of the Citizens' Association?

New Book of Two Hundred Pictures. 16mo, pp. 208. Philadelphia: American Sunday-School Union.

Of all the books designed for the young, and combining amusement with instruction, which have fallen into our hands during the present season, this is the one which we would most confidently recommend. Not one of the two hundred pictures is given without an object; each is fully though briefly explained, and made the medium of teaching a useful, moral, or religious lesson. The alphabetical index of subjects will render the volume all the more acceptable to our juvenile friends as a holiday present.

APPENDIX.

Insurance Reports, Journals, and other Documents, for the quarter ending December 15th, 1868.

No witness is more reliable than time. If the old father is intelligently interrogated as he proceeds on his tour, he will rarely conceal the truth. Of this fact we will give some curious illustrations before we close. It is now seven years since we made some statements in these pages relative to a certain class of insurance companies; we ventured to allege that they were not pursuing an honest or honorable course; and although we mentioned no names at this time, but merely advised our readers to be watchful and wary, the lowest abuse of the fish market was deemed too mild and gentle for us. It may be remembered that it was not deemed sufficient to make an onslaught on us in the insurance journals, and in placards distributed in thousands in the railway cars; as many of the daily papers as

would publish such things as advertisements were also brought into requisition against us.

Had we found fault with the principle of insurance, perhaps we should have deserved all; but we have never done so. On the contrary, we have always admitted that its influence is beneficent and salutary. In the first criticism we ever made on the subject, we did not deny that there were companies that were proving a veritable blessing to thousands of widows and orphans. Before presenting the dark side of the picture, let us remark, parenthetically, that far from opposing these, it was our hearty wish that they should prosper; nor have we any different feeling now. Need we say that it never injures honest underwriters to put the public on its guard against the dishonest? And those who take any interest in the subject may see for themselves that we have not been much mistaken in our estimates of particular companies, whether Life, Fire, or Marine; that, with not more than one or two exceptions, those whom we regarded, six or seven years ago, as worthy of public confidence, have since fully proved their claim to that distinction. If our opinion has undergone any change, in the meantime, in regard to this class, it is by gaining strength from year to year; so that it can hardly be called a mere opinion now, but a positive certainty. The change, in other words, is simply this: formerly we believed, from various evidences, that the companies to which we allude were honest and reliable; now we are sure, from evidences still more various and satisfactory, that they were, and are.

In order to enable our readers to agree with us in this by refreshing their memory, we will here set down as they occur to us, the names of companies, Life, Fire, and Marine, which we regarded as honest and honorable seven years ago; although at this time some of them had but recently commenced business, and had to struggle with difficulties that would have overwhelmed men less energetic, enthusiastic, and sanguine. The Life companies were the New-England Mutual, the Manhattan, the Knickerbocker, the Ætna, the Equitable, the Phœnix, the Mutual Benefit, and the Charter Oak.

Not one of these has sustained any injury in its character in the lapse of years; on the contrary, all have improved in that respect in proportion as their prosperity and success have increased. The two youngest companies at this time were the Knickerbocker and the Equitable; at the present day, probably no two rival each other more vigorously. But what of that? Two potentates may go to war, and carry on hostilities with each other for years without any serious detriment to the character of either. Louis XIV. and William III. did not the less enjoy the confidence and esteem of the world as sovereigns because they fought with each other so long. As long as hostilities are carried on, according to the laws of civilized warfare, no third party has a right to complain.

Among the Life Companies which were not in existence seven years ago, but are now established on a solid basis, and vying with their older brethren in affording real, substantial protection to the widow, are the Continental, the National, (New-York) Security, and the Globe. The youngest of these is now approaching the close of its third year; it has had time enough to develop its character; and like its older brethren, it continues

unreproached and irreproachable, rapidly vindicating the appropriateness of its *continental* appellation.

The number of Fire and Marine Companies in which we had ever much confidence is very limited; and perhaps we can show, if proof be necessary at the present day, that in this also we were pretty nearly right; but let the reader have a little patience, bearing in mind that no exhibition, however curious, can be witnessed until time and room have been allowed to open the doors thereof. When we used to say that not more than one fire company out of twenty afforded the insured real honest protection, many thought, and not a few said, that at best we were grossly mistaken; but now the fact is but too well known; the favorite organs of the very class who cheat most are forced to admit it, as we shall take occasion to show before we close. With one exception, the Fire and Marine companies that we represented five, six, or seven years ago, as faithful to their trust, are universally recognized as so to-day. The one exception was the Columbian Marine; and the failure of that was the result of a series of misfortunes rather than of any evil intentions or malfeasance on the part of the original officers. We need only mention the remainder to secure the concurrence of all who know them as to their fidelity and trustworthiness. The Mercantile Mutual, (Marine,) of Wall street, we have invariably placed in the first rank. At no time were we ignorant of the fact that there were one or two other marine companies that had more money, or that at least made a larger display of "assets;" but we always knew that it is not those who boast most that do most; and that it is not those who have most money, real or imaginary, that are most willing to pay even those claims the justness of which they cannot deny. Nor need we ask any better proof of the correctness of this than the history of the Mercantile Mutual for the last seven years,* taken in connection with that of one or two other marine companies, that once assumed to dictate to all others, but are now we know not in how precarious and degraded a plight. Upon the other hand, we can give an instance of one of the wealthiest fire companies in the world, being at the same time one of the most scrupulously exact and courteous in its dealings; which shows that it is not the money that makes certain underwriters pompous and arrogant, but the coarseness and vulgarity of their nature.

The model fire company to which we allude is certainly not the Home, nor the Continental, but a very different institution, namely, the Ætna Fire, of Hartford; and next to this we rank the Security Fire and Inland, with whose high character our readers are familiar; then come the Washington Fire, the Hope, etc. The two last-mentioned do not pretend to do business on a very large scale; but what they do pretend they faithfully and promptly perform. Now, need we say there is not one of these com-

* Owing to the usual defect in our memory, in regard to proper names, we have omitted for months to note a change which has taken place in the management of the Mercantile Mutual. At the beginning of the year Mr. Charles Newcomb retired from the vice-presidency of the company—a position which he had filled most efficiently and satisfactorily for many years. There was no chasm, however. Mr. Newcomb's place was taken by Mr. Archibald G. Montgomery, Jr., a gentleman young in years but old in experience in the marine branch of insurance, having been connected with the Mercantile Mutual since it was first established, and been in turn the favorite pupil of its two successive, honored presidents. Our readers are aware that better tuition no underwriter could have had. It is true that the best teachers can only do their part; the general result must depend mainly on the pupil. As to what might have been expected from the natural disposition of the present vice-president, all we have learned is, that he is a descendant of General Richard Montgomery, who fell at Quebec, fighting for American independence, and in regard to whom the revolutionary Congress testified "their grateful remembrance, profound respect, and high veneration."

panies which does not deserve *better* to-day than the estimate we gave of it seven years ago? Still more correct, if possible, would the other side of the insurance picture, as given years ago, prove to our readers as improved by the hand of time; but we are rather averse to gloomy, unamiable portraitures at Christmas time. We prefer to give the delinquents time to improve their morals during the holidays, and wait until we see whether their annual reports afford any evidence of such improvement. But to return to the state of affairs in the past, so that we may be able to comprehend certain "new features" of the present.

Seven years since, insurance had become an object of speculation merely as a means of making money; numbers who had failed in various kinds of business turned their attention to the new project. Those who could not insure themselves from bankruptcy, or from being turned out of their boarding-house for non-payment of board, could raise hundreds of thousands of capital, in a few days, to see that the widows and orphans of all endowed with the proper faith should be comfortably provided for.

This was the class that we undertook to put the public on its guard against; thousands have since learned, when too late, that insurance companies may make a large display of figures as capital, assets, etc., and yet be downright, habitual swindlers. No year has since passed without an increase of this class; within the last two years they have multiplied. At this moment there are not fewer than a score of new companies in process of "organization." Scarcely a session of the courts passes without suits against insurance companies that refuse to pay under one pretext or another, when lives they have insured drop.* Those whose chief business it is to cheat know how to be prepared for these suits; even when judgment is given in favor of the plaintiff he is by no means sure of his money.

Again, there are hundreds who bring no suits; if they have even the means, which is seldom the case, judging by the experience of their neighbors, they think that instead of gaining they would, in all probability, only increase the loss they have already sustained. Yet, nobody seems to profit by their example; nay, those swindled seldom profit even from their own case. An agent comes to them and tells them they deserved their fate; they should not have insured in any such company; had they or their friends insured in his company they would have had their money now, etc. If the trick does not succeed with one agent it will with another—probably with his accomplice; the second company, as might be expected proves, if possible, still more dishonest than the first; yet, the credulity of our people rather increases than diminishes, and hence it is that the chief difficulty is now to find new names for the new insurance companies as fast as they are "organized!"

As for "capital," that is as easily manufactured as the cheapest drug in the market; a few hundred thousands, more or less, have only to be mentioned, and anon there are the figures! Even when these figures only exaggerate; when really wealthy men become underwriters, it is by no means certain that the insured may calculate on the amount of their policies, since

* The latest instance we have observed is one against the Traveller's, of Hartford; one of Batterson's concerns. The suit was brought in the Kings County (N. Y.) Supreme Court Circuit, before Judge Tappan, by Eliza C. Mallory, to recover $2000, being the amount of a life insurance policy issued by defendants to plaintiff's brother. The jury returned a verdict for plaintiff for the whole amount; but whether the lady has got it, or will get it, until she loses nearly as much as the original sum by law, if even then, is the question!

men may have much money—no matter how they got it—and very little honesty or principle. It was the opinion of Franklin, that rich swindlers did far more mischief than poor swindlers. But it may be said, even by those most willing to believe the truth, that we exaggerate the present condition of the insurance world. The dupes will think it impossible we could be correct! This very numerous, if not sensible or respectable class, will insist that the insurance organs were right in abusing us—that we deserved to be abused for making such monstrous statements. But let them not be too confident. What will they say if those organs are obliged to admit themselves, at the present day, much worse, in regard to their patrons, than what they abused us for? First let us see which organ is recognized as having the best right to speak *ex cathedra* of "the profession." If we are not mistaken, it is the Insurance Times that enjoys this distinction at the present moment. In the absence of any other evidence, we should infer the fact from its being the most scurrilous of the whole tribe. Then, let us hear a specimen or two of the sort of information it gives its readers. Take this to begin with:

"Now, life-insurance is no cheat; but there is *more misrepresentation, more deception, more finessing associated with it than with any other respectable business in existence.* Every new plan for insuring lives is but *another form of plausible deception*, intended first to please, and *then destroy.* Who does not know that officers of companies always have some condition in the contract *exceedingly obscure* when the policy is taken, but exceedingly *prominent* when the policy is settled?"—*Insurance Times* for November, p. 463.

Now, let any one compare this and one or two other passages of the same kind, which we will also make room for, with the remarks we made in the articles on the "Quackery of Insurance Companies," in Nos. X. and XII. of this journal, written six years ago, and judge from all how long it takes an insurance organ to make a discovery. But let us hear a little more of the confession:

"We have been many years in the life-insurance business, and we know most of the larger and more popular companies. But we have *never known a company* that was thoroughly *honest—never one that was free from overreaching devices* designed to gain advantage *over those unfortunate policy-holders who were compelled to leave the company.* There always has been, and is to-day, a disposition *to skin alive* all who enter the ranks and leave them again. Gain by lapses is a piece of iniquity as dark in every moral aspect *as stealing.*"—*Ib.*

This, it will be seen, goes farther than we have ever gone. We have never said that no company is thoroughly honest; nor do we now. We know more than a dozen that are, most emphatically, thoroughly honest, and we have mentioned them above. But the writer we have quoted has an advantage over us; he has been in the business many years—we have never been in it one year or one day. If, having belonged to swindling companies, and been in the habit of associating only with cheats, he thought all were swindlers and cheats, like his accomplices, perhaps we ought rather pity than blame him for placing all in the same category.

In the December number of that organ, we have another article on the same topic, but this is marked "communicated." The editor seems to think that this acquits him of being a party to the charges made. But let us hear a little more:

"Moreover, it is generally believed that managers of life companies are fair, honest men, with no disposition to take advantage or overreach. This is also a mistake. In *many companies the reverse is true,* and it *is a constant study,* not how the

interests of policy-holders may be promoted, but how *they can be ignored and evaded.*" (P. 565.)

The truth "will out" sometimes. This is precisely what we told our readers more than six years ago. At least one of the editors of the Insurance Times abused us at the time for doing so, and many a time since. We had no objection to this, nor shall we in the future. It will be remembered that we gave a specimen on one or two occasions of the sort of courtesy with which the insurance organs treat each other, remarking that why should we blame them when they treated us not only as politely as they did each other, but incomparably more so? Accordingly, we rather fee obliged to them than otherwise. If any of them said as naughty things of us, as what we are now going to quote, it will be admitted that they could not have said worse at all events. A long diatribe against the Insurance Monitor, which it seems has the temerity to pretend to rival the Insurance Times, commences as follows:

"Insurance papers, starting without capital, are conducted on a principle which combines some of *the worst features of mendacity and swindling.* They constitute some of the most transparent, and yet most successful, *impostures* in existence. Their editors are frequently men who have failed in the insurance business, and are too indolent or incapable to work or prosper at any other." (P. 496.)

If the writer of this extract had only the honesty to include his own luminary in the category which he describes, we would agree with him quite as readily as we do now in his estimate of his brethren. The editor waxes warm in true Billingsgate style, and comes to a climax as follows: "Hine's Insurance Monitor Weekly *is one of these infamous sheets.*" (P. 496.) This may seem bad enough, but it is mild and gentlemanly compared to what follows.

Yet, as we have said, there is no one so fond of misrepresentation but that he will sometimes have to tell the truth. Accordingly we make no apology for placing the insurance luminary on the stand again for a moment, or two. No doubt he knows what an "approver" is, or one who turns king's or queen's evidence, and we are willing to treat him with all the consideration due to that class of witnesses, when their testimony is duly corroborated, as in the present case. But let us hear the witness:

"It will startle our good citizens to learn that on all the small and special risks in this city *at least one third of the insurance is utterly worthless.* It has not at its back capital enough to pay *the smallest fraction of the risks it pretends to carry.* A more *complete delusion* and *flagitious cheat* was never imposed upon the public."—*Insurance Times,* Dec., p. 565.

It was a grievous sin on our part to say such as this; it was as clear as daylight that we had some abominable motive for doing so; but our insurance oracle says the same for the pure love of truth! There is a slight difference, however; the following will tell how:

"But whence are these companies *without honesty or capital?* and who introduces them into this State, which boasts of an Insurance Department created on purpose to prevent the fraud they commit *daily all the year round? They come from* New-Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and *various other States,* and are represented, under the rose, in this city, by about three hundred brokers, most of them *members of the Board,* and many of them *standing high in that fraternity.*" (P. 566.)

Just so. No insurance swindlers or impostors in New-York at all; all that class come from the rural districts. Let everybody be good enough to remember that there is no "complete delusion" or "flagitious cheat"

among our metropolitan companies! We look about a little to see how it is that New York has become so pure in that respect of late, and we find two of our companies spread over as many of the large quarto-pages of our insurance oracle. The "Home Fire and Inland" covers the whole face, or first page, except about an inch and a half at the top, occupied by the title of the organ, and the "International Marine and Fire" fills half the last page and half the preceding one. Under such circumstances New-York companies should, of course, be like Cæsar's wife; all ladies of doubtful virtue come from the country! Be this as it may, we ask, are the most serious charges we have ever made against a certain class of insurance companies fully corroborated, or are they not?

Now we have to say a brief word about the so-called Chamber of Life Insurance. We wish we could devote a whole article to it for the amusement of our readers. At its third annual meeting the Chamber, as first constituted, ended as it began its existence, in a cloud of froth. To this we can add, without fear of contradiction, and without making any claim to the prophetic gift, that it has ended precisely as we predicted three years ago. We need hardly inform our readers that Mr. Benjamin J. Stevens, of the New-England Mutual Life, elected as its first president, has never once presided—never attended one of its meetings; that sort of work he left to Mr. N. D. Morgan and the worthy officers who have aided him so well in making a laughing stock of the whole party. However, we are not without a Chamber; *le roi est mort; vive le roi!* Morgan is dethroned, but we have Batterson in his place. Need we say that Europe and America, and Africa, too, might have been searched in vain for a more worthy successor? Let everybody thank Guy Phelps for this. In future the worthy doctor's claim to a niche in a certain gallery will not rest exclusively on his tomato pills and his insurance wooden nutmegs.

It is true that three intelligent, shrewd underwriters, whose integrity cannot be impugned, have sometimes attended the meetings of the Chamber, namely, Mr. Edward A. Jones of the National Life, Mr. Samuel H. White of the Charter Oak Life, and Mr. Pliny Freeman of the Globe Mutual Life; but it should be remembered that each of those gentlemen is very fond of a joke. It amused them to attend; and by putting in a word here and there they helped to amuse the public, by encouraging Morgan, Eadie, Bucklin, Batterson, etc., to make foolish speeches. But when new officers were to be appointed, on the 19th of November last, the three declined in turn to be nominated. Prof. Wright was declared Actuary-in-Chief; but that gentleman regarded his election as a doubtful honor at best. But with Batterson as president, Eadie as vice-president, Cole, of the Brooklyn Life, as secretary, and another member of the Morgan family (nominated by President Morgan, and "recommended from a respectable source") as treasurer, everybody must be satisfied that the "Chamber" will prove fully worthy of its name!

We never see an elaborate eulogy in an insurance paper but we think there is something wrong; that the "assets" are in a deranged state; that "contested claims" have attracted too much attention, etc. And most people who *think* regard the matter in the same light. There are several of these suspicious rhapsodies in the insurance journals before us, some of

them extending to three columns. As this is the size prescribed in the most desperate cases, we feel rather sorry. However, we will say nothing until the holidays are over; then, perhaps, the patients would be "smart" again, and not need our peculiar mode of treatment. In the mean time, we would respectfully remind them of the fable of the Lion and the Donkey. Young Master Leo took a great fancy for the company of a herd of donkeys that pastured some distance from the residence of his royal father; on his return he began to show his accomplishments, by braying at an immense rate, until the king of brutes nearly knocked the life out of him with a blow of his paw.

As to the existing controversy relative to the respective merits of the mutual and "mixed" life companies, we have nothing to do with it. Good, bad, and indifferent men belong to each, and, perhaps, nearly in the same proportion; and it is by the conduct and character of the men we judge, not by their rules or theories. Let us be only sure that the man is honest and trustworthy, and we do not care a wooden nutmeg, or a tomato-pill, whether he be a "mutual" man or a "mixed" man.

It is certainly as agreeable to us to notice vindications as accusations, or recriminations; indeed, much more agreeable, when we know that the former are honestly received. That this is true of the vindications of the Knickerbocker Life, of this city, and of the Ætna Life, of Hartford, most of our readers are aware; for there are not two more honorable companies in the United States. Both, it seems, have been libelled; but those who do right have nothing to fear in the long run; in nine cases out of ten truth and justice will prevail. The following manly statement from General Maury, of Virginia, speaks for itself, and we are sure that Mr. Lyman is generous enough to accept it as sufficient satisfaction for the unfounded statements made against his company.

"*Editors of Rusk Observer:*

"After consideration and investigation, I am convinced that my disparagement of the Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company, in my letter published in your paper last month, was altogether wrong and unjustifiable. All I can now do is to make this expression of my regret and acknowledgment of my error as public as was the assault. I will thank you to send a copy of the paper containing this *amende* to every agent of the Piedmont Company who may have received or read my letter, with an injunction to abstain in future from all disparagement of the Knickerbocker or any other designated company. DABNEY H. MAURY."

The vindication of the Ætna comes from the New Dominion of Canada; this, also, tells its own story:

"ÆTNA LIFE INSURANCE CO.—As articles derogatory to this company have at various times appeared in these columns, which were written without a full knowledge of all the facts discussed, and would not have been published had we possessed the data now within our reach, we feel it due to that company, and our own character for truthfulness, to state that we are not aware of any thing in the standing or business of the Ætna Life Insurance Company, which the public would have cause to distrust."—*Daily News of Montreal*, November 27th, 1868.

This is a much wiser course for those who make accusations without thought or knowledge, than to await the decision of a court. Alluding to legal affairs reminds us of a somewhat curious suit recently brought before

the Supreme Court of Chicago. Two parties claim $10,000, the amount of a policy from the Manhattan Life Insurance Company. One of the litigants tries to cause the company to be appointed trustee; but the latter having quite enough to do besides watching for months, or perhaps for years, to see who is entitled to the money, pays the whole amount into court at once, so that as soon as a decision is made the successful claimant may receive it without any further trouble. Conduct so exemplary as this needs no praise.

Many of our readers will be glad to learn that the seventh distribution of the surplus funds of the New-England Mutual Life will commence in January next. Had not the termination of the company's fiscal year been recently changed from the 30th of November to the 31st of December, we should have had the annual report of Mr. Stevens before this; and we never read one of that gentleman's papers on insurance, which he has made the study of a lifetime without profit and pleasure.

It is from the Modern Athens we also learn that the Phœnix Mutual Life, of Hartford, continues progressive in its eminently deserved prosperity. In their statement for the month of October—the last that has reached us—its Boston agents announce the following results:

"By comparing it with the October of last year, you will see that we have made this year an increase of 129 policies—$313,000 in insurance and $58,000 in premiums. We have already issued for ten months of this year 6773 policies, against 5811 for the whole of the year 1867, and have two months yet to spare. Had it not been for the excitement of election during the past two months, we could have made a still larger increase."

This should be an encouragement to all who mean to pursue a straightforward course. We shall have an immense pile of annual reports to notice in our next number, including those of at least fifty new companies. Nay, according to the present ratio of increase, may we not expect that twenty-five more new companies will be "organized" between this and March next? It is sometimes said by well-meaning people that our State Superintendent should be a little more careful in issuing certificates; we have taken the liberty of intimating ourselves that he should abstain from praising new companies, at least until they get out of their swaddling-clothes; but it should be remembered that the worst of those companies with which Mr. Barnes has to do, are only blanks in some respects. Perhaps this will be best explained by an extract from Circular No. 40, addressed by the Superintendent to insurance officers, calling on them to hurry up with their annual statements, etc.

"You will please transmit the *fees for filing the annual statement* (*fifty dollars,*) by check or draft, *payable to the order of the Superintendent.* Companies from other States and foreign countries *will also remit five dollars* for *each* agent's certificate of authority and certified copy thereof. In cases where *higher or other fees* or taxes are chargeable by the laws of a company's own State, the *same fees* and charges are payable to the Superintendent."

Of course the laborer is worthy of his hire, and why should he not get it? We merely want to show that too much is expected from Mr. Barnes by those who think he is a little too ready with his "certificates of authority."

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ART. I.—1. *Diogenes Laertii de Clarorum Philosophorum, Vitis, Dogmatibus, etc.* Libri Decem. (Lives and Doctrines of the Ancient Philosophers, etc. Ten Books.) By DIOGENES LAERTES.

2. *The Dialogues of Lucian.*

3. *Lives of Alexander, Fabius Maximus, etc.* PLUTARCH.

4. *La Vita di Diogene Cinico.* (The Life of Diogenes the Cynic.) GRIMALDI.

IT is a remarkable fact that none of the higher order of thinkers have set any value on fame. Most of them have sought to avoid it, or, at least, proved themselves entirely indifferent to it. Thus it is that the very existence of Homer will ever be a matter of dispute among the most learned men; while the superiority of the Iliad and the Odyssey to all other epics is universally acknowledged by nations the most dissimilar in their tastes—indeed by every nation that can be regarded as capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject. The author was content to charm all who heard him; he was too sublime a genius to be influenced by vanity. Yet what has he lost by this? If many have denied his existence, have not many also denied the existence of the Creator of the universe?

As little is known of Æsop, the great fabulist, as of Homer. The instructive wisdom and beauty of the fables with which

his name is associated, are acknowledged by all; but because little or nothing is known of the author, some are pleased to maintain that he was but a myth. It is sufficiently evident that Socrates cared nothing for fame; and that his pupil, the divine Plato, was equally indifferent to it, is shown by the fact that he represents himself in his noblest and most eloquent works, only as the reporter of his master's thoughts.

Pythagoras was not merely careless of fame—he always avoided it, and inculcated as a duty on his disciples, that they also would spurn it. Virgil was quite as careless of fame as his master Homer. This is fully proved by the request he made shortly before his death, that his greatest work should be burned. It was different with Horace and Ovid; both, although of a high order, were intellects of an inferior stamp, compared with the author of the Æneid, and accordingly neither was indifferent to fame.*

Nor have the great minds of modern times been less unmindful of what the world might say. There are many ordinary authors who wrote long before the time of Shakespeare of whom we have full biographies; they have themselves left us abundant particulars of their lives; but scarcely any thing certain is known of the great dramatist. Of those who flourished nearer our own time, suffice it to mention Swift and the author of the Junius Letters. That both were men

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* While Virgil gives all the glory to his patron in his fine peroration at the close of his Georgics, the two minor poets boast of having built themselves everlasting monuments. No authors present more striking contrasts in this respect. Thus Virgil concludes his admirable pastoral, perhaps the best ever written, with all the modesty of a bashful maiden, reminding his reader that while he sang Tityrus in inglorious ease beneath the beechen shade, victorious Cæsar was extending his laws over willing realms:

"Illo Virgilium me tempore dulcis alebat
Parthenope, studiis florentem ignobilis oti;
Carmina qui lusi pastorum: audaxque juventâ
Tityre, te patulæ cecini sub tegmine fagi."

Horace, on the contrary, boasts in the following grandiloquent strain:

"Exegi monumentum ære perennius,
Regalique situ pyramidum allius, etc.

Still more pompous is the glorification of Ovid over his own fame. Just in proportion as he is inferior in genius to Horace does he laud himself more:

"Jamque opus exegi, quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis
Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas."

of a high order of genius none will deny; and it is equally indisputable that both despised fame.

At first sight, this indifference or contempt, on the part of great minds, may seem unaccountable. But none who reflect on what generally constitutes fame will wonder at it, since in nine cases out of ten nothing is more spurious, nothing less reliable. If it was not quite as much the work of the charlatan in the times of Homer, Virgil, and Shakespeare, as it is now, it is certain that there were puffers and sycophants at each of those periods, who did not take much pains to examine whether the subjects of their eulogies possessed merit or not; and it is equally certain that many regarded it as a crime, at those times, to speak the truth, especially if the truth placed themselves in a position in which they did not wish to appear.

It is probable that there were not so many of the latter class in former times as there are now, since there were at least ten public instructors who gave their opinions freely and honestly, for every one who does so in our own time. But the old philosophers who performed their duties thus faithfully, fearless of frowns, blows, or even death itself, had, generally, to pay the penalty of their hardihood in one form or other. As for sustaining pecuniary loss to an extent that often deprived them even of the necessaries of life, that was one of the least of the evils which they expected to result to themselves from their highly useful and reformatory though self-imposed duties. We have sufficient evidence that many of them regarded it as a much greater injury to be traduced. It gave Socrates more pain to be accused of conduct of which he was incapable of being guilty, than to be condemned to the hemlock draught. But neither prevented him from denouncing the vicious and dishonest. Accordingly, he might have come down to posterity, not as one of the greatest philosophers that ever lived, but as one of the vilest of mankind, had it not so happened that there were men of genius among his disciples who were capable of vindicating his character, and whose eloquent voice is still heard. Plato and Xenophon not only saved his memory from infamy, but rendered him an object of admiration and affection to all succeeding ages. However, he was but one out of a hundred; it is certainly no exaggeration to say

that for this justice done to the memory of Socrates, ninety-nine other philosophers who were benefactors of mankind were branded as the basest of mankind; whereas a much larger number of persons who had no other claim than their impudence to be considered philosophers at all, were lauded to the skies as superior to all others.

It is true that it is only in rare instances that even the names of this class have come down to us; whereas, the truly great have seldom failed to triumph over time, as well as over the malice of those whose vicious conduct, or false dishonest pretensions they denounced. But even when thus successful they have by no means escaped unscathed—like brave warriors who, although they have been victorious in battle, have received painful wounds in the conflict. This may serve to explain why it is that the greatest thinkers of all ages have, as we have shown, despised fame, and we think it may also be regarded as satisfactory evidence that they were right in doing so.

But of all philosophers no one has been more grossly misrepresented by his contemporaries than Diogenes the Cynic, whose life and character we have chosen as the subject of the present article. We would not by any means introduce the Sinopean to our readers as a model worthy of imitation in all things, however. Even as portrayed by his friends and admirers, there are features in his character which are not to be commended. Perhaps no other philosopher of all antiquity more strikingly illustrates the inferiority of the Pagan to the Christian in his morality as well as in his religion, than Diogenes. But it would be unjust to judge him as a Christian. Even in comparing him with other pagan philosophers we must not be too exacting; if we find that others were better than he in some respects, we must not therefore condemn him.

There are several of the ancient philosophers whose character and teachings we admire ourselves much more than we do those of Diogenes the Cynic, but since he also did much good in his time, and deserved to be ranked among the benefactors of mankind, his having some faults is no reason why we should not learn what we can from his history, and those of his

moral precepts and apothegms alone which have reached us would amply repay us for the study. But Diogenes presents us a still stronger inducement. There have been few men of any age from whom more valuable lessons can be learned, altogether independently of his wit and wisdom, reminding us, as he does, by what he has accomplished, often under the most unfavorable circumstances, that no calamity is so great, no disgrace so notorious or overwhelming, but that it can be counteracted or repaired by a resolute, honest will.

Diogenes the Cynic was born at Sinope, a small town in Asia Minor, in the fourth year of the ninetieth Olympiad—413 before Christ. Of his early life nothing is known; he is first heard of in connection with his father, Isecius, who being accused of counterfeiting the public money, while pursuing the business of a small banker at Corinth, was banished from the state. Some think that Diogenes was as guilty as his father, nor does he seem to deny the fact himself; at all events, the son fled as quickly as the father. He first appears to have wandered about without any fixed object, but with the determination of pursuing forever after an upright, honest course. That he had obtained a good education in his youth, is evident even from his conduct at this time. He knew there were other cities more wealthy than Athens, but he also knew that the latter had more knowledge than any of its rivals, and the lesson which he had learned at Corinth caused him to prefer knowledge to money.

On reaching Athens he was attracted by the fame of Antisthenes, who had for many years been a disciple of Socrates, and had recently established a school of his own which had already become famous, although so rigid was the discipline of the master that it had but few pupils. Diogenes was informed on inquiry, that the reason why Antisthenes had so few disciples was that he treated them as surgeons did their patients. Far from being deterred by this, it caused the Sinopean to apply to him all the more eagerly. Antisthenes refused to accept him on any conditions; Diogenes persisted in trying to in duce him; some say that he urged his case so strongly that the master threatened to strike him. "You may strike if you

will," said Diogenes, "you will find no stick hard enough to prevent me from coming to hear your lessons."*

Even the founder of the Cynic sect could not help being moved by this reply, and he at once accepted Diogenes as a disciple. Nor had he any other disciple who loved or esteemed him more, or took more zealous pains to propagate his doctrines. Such was the reverence of Diogenes for his master that he refused to open any school of his own as long as that of Antisthenes existed; but long after he had become much more illustrious than his teacher he continued to call himself a disciple of the latter; nor did he cease to do so while the latter lived.

All the earlier biographers of Diogenes represent him as having lived in a tub, or large vessel, and he frequently speaks of the tub himself as his house or place of residence. Both Juvenal and Seneca refer to it in a manner that leaves no doubt of their having accepted the story as true; and Lucian ridicules the sage for having gone to such extremes in his self-denial and avoidance of luxuries. Others think, however, that the story is inconsistent with the references made by Diogenes himself to his house and to his servant. That he once had both is abundantly proved; but it is doubtful whether he had one or the other after his banishment. But whatever time he parted with his slave, it would appear that it was against his will he did so; for some of his friends having advised him to pursue the fugitive, his reply was, "Would it not be ridiculous that Menades could live without Diogenes, but that Diogenes could not live without Menades?"

Elian explains the apparent inconsistency by showing that Diogenes had not yet become a philosopher at the time of the escape of his slave; and this view of the case is accepted by Seneca and all other authors save those who have given credence, without examination, to the calumnies of the philosopher's enemies.†

It is generally believed that Diogenes wandered about many years after parting with his servant before he made any place

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* Diog. Laert. in *Vita*.

† *Vide* Elian. Var. Hist. lib. xiii. cap. xviii.

his permanent home. The philosopher relates himself, in one of his letters, according to Laertes, how it was he came to live in a tub. He says that he ordered a friend to have a cell made for him; the friend forgot or neglected his wishes; he, growing impatient, took up his abode in a large tub which he found in one of the porticoes of the Temple of Juno. Laertes informs us that a mischievous youth broke the tub; and that the Athenians proved their affection and veneration for Diogenes by condemning the culprit to be publicly whipped, and furnishing a new tub to the philosopher.*

The enlightened citizens of Athens did not esteem the philosopher anything the less because he had often satirized them. He ridiculed their weaknesses much more cuttingly than Socrates had done. Thus, for example, when they decreed divine honors to Alexander under the name of Bacchus, he sarcastically said, "Decree also that I am Serapis."

Nor was it the Athenians alone that treated Diogenes and his tub with consideration, if we are to believe the most reliable historians. At Corinth, as well as at Athens, he was allowed peculiar privileges in consideration of his noble and highly successful efforts as a public instructor. We are informed that he happened to be in the former city when Philip, King of Macedon, threatened to attack it. Observing all the citizens laboriously and anxiously occupied in fortifying the place, and not wishing to be entirely idle while all others were at work, he amused himself by rolling his tub.

It seems that, notwithstanding the cheerful, happy disposition for which he was remarkable among his friends, he was subject to fits of despondency in the earlier part of his career as a philosopher. When in this frame of mind, he would say, according to Laertes, that all the imprecations of the tragic poets were applicable to him, since he belonged to no city, had no house, was banished from his country, was poor, a wanderer, barely subsisting from day to day.†

He had now become so much in the habit of teaching in public, in the market-place, at cross-roads, in the porticoes of the

* Diog. Laert. *Vide* also Lucianus de Conscrib. Historia.

† Ἄπολις, ἄοικος, πατρίδο ἐστερημένος.
πτωχός, πλανήτης, βίον ἔχων τοὐφ' ἡμέραν.

temples, in short, wherever he found two or three persons, or more, who were willing to hear him, that he determined to open no school in any particular place. Perhaps no serious objection could have been made to this; but we are informed that he insisted on being equally public in almost every thing else he did, maintaining that whatever was right in private was right in public, that nature made no distinction, and that, in order to be at once virtuous and free, we must obey her voice in all things.

Some, indeed, think that this should be ranked among the many other calumnies of his enemies, although it is admitted by Diogenes Laertes, the most friendly of all his earlier biographers whose works have reached us. But some of the gross indecencies attributed to the philosopher on this ground are entirely inconsistent with many facts which are abundantly authenticated. Thus, for example, it is not likely that Alexander the Great, the accomplished and fastidious pupil of Aristotle, would have had such esteem for one who violated the most ordinary rules of decency as to seek out the philosopher in his miserable abode, and ask him to choose whatever it was in his power to bestow on him. The most faithful and reliable of biographers bears testimony to this incident, and his statement is corroborated by that of Diogenes Laertes and of several other authors of eminence. "A general assembly of Greeks being held at the Isthmus of Corinth," says Plutarch, in his Life of Alexander, "they came to a resolution to send their quotas with Alexander against the Persians, and he was unanimously elected captain-general. Many statesmen and philosophers came to congratulate him on the occasion, and he hoped that Diogenes of Sinope, who then lived at Corinth, would be of the number. Finding, however, that he made but little account of Alexander, and that he preferred the enjoyment of his leisure in a part of the suburbs called Cranium, he went to see him. Diogenes happened to be lying in the sun; and, at the approach of so many people, he raised himself a little, and fixed his eyes on Alexander. The king addressed him in a complimentary manner, and asked him if there was anything he could serve him in. 'Only stand a little out of my sun,' said Diogenes. Alexander, we are told, was struck

with so much surprise at finding himself so little regarded, and saw something so great in this, that while his courtiers were ridiculing the philosopher as a monster, he said, 'If I were not Alexander, I should wish to be Diogenes.' "*

It is almost needless to remark that when this happened Alexander was well acquainted with the character of Diogenes. Then, if the philosopher had really been habitually guilty of disgraceful conduct, is it likely that the pupil of the Stagyrite would have wished to be Diogenes? There is not the slightest probability that he would. Nevertheless, he has been severely censured for having made such a remark, although only by those who have accepted the representations of the philosopher's enemies. Among this class are men like Balzac—men who ought to devote themselves to the vindication of the illustrious dead, rather than to the reproduction of the worst slanders of their enemies. The Abbé de Tastu preaches an eloquent sermon on the wish of Alexander in regard to Diogenes, and maintains that it did honor both to the king and the philosopher. This excites the indignation of Balzac, who condemns in turn the preacher, the king, and the philosopher. "The preacher," he says, "regards this as extremely good; I regard it as extremely bad. For, in truth, what is it to be Diogenes? I will tell you by merely translating the Greek text, without making any addition of my own. To be Diogenes is to violate established customs and received laws; it is to have neither shame nor decency; it is to recognize neither relative, nor host, nor friend; it is to bark or bite constantly; it is to eat in the open market raw bread or bloody meat; it is to offend the eyes of the people by actions still more filthy or more indecent, actions for which there cannot be sufficient secrecy or a sufficiently profound solitude."†

This indeed is, as Balzac tells us, in strict accordance with the Greek text; it is in accordance with more than one Greek text; but it is far too literal a rendering of the worst. Diogenes Laertes is undoubtedly an honest biographer; but there are certain things considered so disgraceful at the present day that they cannot be mentioned, which the Greek biographer

* Plutarch's Life of Alexander.
† Balzac, *Socrat. Chrétien*, p. 243.

regards as rather creditable than otherwise. There is so much of this objectionable matter in his lives of the philosophers that when the good and learned monk, Brother Ambroise, presented Europe the first Latin translation of them, he humbly excused himself for having devoted his leisure hours to the interpretation of a work which contains so many unchaste as well as profane expressions, begging to be forgiven on the ground that, although the work is thus unhappily marred by some objectionable matter, it is upon the whole highly instructive, and such as may be read with profit even by the most pious Christians. It would be very illogical to accept certain remarks occurring in a work of this character as sufficient evidence against those to whom they were applied.

Such was the reputation of Balzac as an author that his example was followed by several other writers. At this time works written in French were more read than all others; and the consequence was that the memory of Diogenes was rendered infamous. But if some Frenchmen celebrated for their brilliancy were rather hasty in arriving at conclusions, especially in comparing the moderns with the ancients, there were others who were as thoughtful and fond of justice as they were brilliant and learned. Of this character was the celebrated La Mothe le Vayer, who, in his *Traité de la Vertu des Païens*, fully vindicated Diogenes. A treatise on the virtue of the pagan philosophers was too profound a work to be much read at this time, although its author had the prestige of being the successful teacher, first of the Duke of Orleans, and subsequently of Louis XIV., whose education he finished. On receiving a hint from his bookseller that his laudable efforts in vindication of the ancients were likely to prove a failure, he told him to be of good cheer, that all would prove right in due time. "Ne soizes point en peine; je sais un secret pour le faire vendre." He proceeds at once to the public censor, and causes a decree to be issued prohibiting all good and pious subjects of the king from reading it, under certain pains and penalties. In three days after, the whole edition had been exhausted. The great Cardinal Richelieu was among the first to thank him for the justice he had rendered to the ancient philosophers in this work. La Mothe was not content with proving

to the satisfaction of every unprejudiced, enlightened man, that the much abused and despised ancients were capable of instructing their modern traducers; he availed himself of the success of his first effort to convince all who had power to raise the standard of education, that not only should the Greek philosophers be studied by all who aspired to a liberal education, but that the Greek language should be carefully taught in every respectable seminary.

Had nothing more than this ever resulted from the life and teachings of Diogenes, he would have done the world a great service; but not only was the study of Greek introduced into seminaries where it never had been taught before, but Louis XIV. was induced to give a large contribution for the publication of a complete annotated edition of the Greek classics, accompanied with Latin translations. The example of the learned men of France was soon followed by those of England and Germany, and princes and kings who had never paid any attention to letters before began to encourage learned men, so that, in the course of fifty years, the Greek, which had hitherto been regarded as "a most dangerous study for a Christian," became nearly as popular as the Latin.

It is almost needless to remark that, in proportion as the Greek classics were studied in the original, the character of Diogenes, as well as that of most other ancient philosophers, continued to improve, that is, truth and justice became more and more apparent. Those who exercised their reflection came to the conclusion that he could not have been a very indecent or vulgar man who was recognized as a philosopher by Socrates himself, as well as by his almost equally illustrious pupils, Plato and Xenophon; for it cannot be denied that Diogenes had the honor of conversing almost daily with each—if, indeed, he considered it an honor, which is not at all likely; since he is occasionally sarcastic in his remarks to all, so much so that, as we shall show presently, Plato is sometimes afraid of his questions.*

According as the character of Diogenes improves, the remark of Alexander becomes more intelligible, more worthy of

* Diog. Laert. in *Vita.*

the pupil of Aristotle; what appears absurd, if not altogether incredible, at first sight, becomes philosophical on intelligent examination; it is admitted that, after all, the wish of the great conqueror evinced neither bad taste nor puerility, but grandeur of soul and magnanimity. In short, it is found that Plutarch was right; but that, in order to be fully understood on this point, he must be read in connection with Diogenes Laertes. It is now generally conceded that when thus interpreted what he meant was this: Alexander did not come to see the philosopher for mere curiosity; still less did he come to mock or to pass any censure on his faults or foibles, whatever either may have been. He had heard of him as a profound thinker, and he desired to judge for himself what his merits really were. In order to gain his good-will and render him communicative, his first word is an offer of service. Diogenes, on his part, meant no incivility when he asked the great conqueror to go from between him and the sun; his reply was as much as to say, "Deprive me not of the gifts of nature, and I will not envy you those of fortune, which, great as they are in your case, I regard as beneath me." The courtiers of Alexander, who had not been so carefully educated as their master, sneered at what they did not understand, precisely as persons of similar character do at the present day. What struck the conqueror was the extreme disdain of the philosopher for all worldly pomp and grandeur. In turning round, therefore, to his courtiers to rebuke them for mocking at the philosopher, what he meant was, that if he did not possess all the riches and honor that he did, he would be glad to be able to despise all, and live content with his humble lot, like the philosopher.

A similar view is taken of the interview between the king and the philosopher by the greatest and most thoughtful of the Roman satirists. "Alexander felt," says Juvenal, "when he saw in that tub its great inhabitant, how much more really happy was he who coveted nothing, than he who aimed at gaining to himself the whole world, doomed to suffer perils equivalent to the exploits he achieved."* Still more emphatic

* "Sensit Alexander, testa quum vidit in illa
Magnum habitatorem, quanto felicior hic qui
Nil cuperet, quam qui totum sibi posceret orbem."
Sat. xiv. v. 312.

is the praise of Seneca, who expresses his admiration of the Sinopean in fifty different parts of his writings. In speaking of the incident just referred to, he says that, however great were the conquests of Alexander, the renowned warrior himself was conquered by Diogenes.*

But this is not the only interview recorded as having taken place between Alexander and Diogenes. We are told that on another occasion the conqueror presented himself to the philosopher, asking, "Are you not afraid of me?" "Tell me what you are, good or bad?" replied Diogenes. "Good," replied Alexander. "And who," continued Diogenes, "is afraid of what is good?"

This could not have been the reply of the kind of person described by Balzac; it was that of a thinker whose mind had evidently been well trained. Had we any doubt on this point, the definition of education given by the philosopher and recorded by his biographer immediately after the reply to Alexander just quoted might have been sufficient to remove it, for it is the Sinopean who defines it as "the prudence of the young, the consolation of the old, the riches of the poor, and the ornament of the rich."†

But there is yet another interview recorded which proves still more conclusively, if possible, that Diogenes was no mere illiterate stroller who attracted attention only by his insolence and indecent conduct. We are informed‡ that Alexander, having found Diogenes sleeping, quoted for him the twenty-fourth verse of the second book of the Iliad, in which the warrior is upbraided for sleeping throughout the night.§ Wishing to reply in a similar manner, Diogenes quoted the line immediately following, which shows that it is those who are intrusted with the government of the people who should not sleep in the manner indicated.‖

This abundantly proves how familiar the philosopher was

* "Eadem re gloriari Socrates potuit, eadem Diogenes a quo victus est, (Alexander.) Quid ni victus sit illo die quo homo supra mensuram humanæ superbiæ tumens, vidit aliquem cui nec dare quidquam posset nec eripere."—*Seneca de Benefic.* lib. v. c. vi.

† Diog. Laert. in *Vita*.

‡ Theo. in *Progymn.*

§ "*οὐ χρὴ παννύχιον εὕδειν βουληφόρον ἄνδρα.*"

‖ "*ᾧ λαοί τ' ἐπιτετράφαται, καὶ τόσσα μέμηλε.*"

with Homer. If the fact be denied, there is no lack of additional proof; it is to be found throughout his life by Laertes. Sometimes in his quietest repartees, at other times in his comparisons, or in his moral precepts, Diogenes either quoted directly from the poets and philosophers, or parodied some of their most striking passages, according as one or the other happened to suit the present case. Thus we are told by Laertes, that seeing a young man who slept too profoundly, he shook him and said, "Waken up, lest while you sleep you may be struck with a lance from behind," which is a parody on v. 95 of the eighth book of the Iliad. On another occasion, seeing a man violating a grave-yard, he parodies another verse of Homer, exclaiming, "Friend, what are you doing there? Have you come to despoil the dead?"

With the works of Euripides, Sophocles, and Æschylus he was equally familiar. If he did not make as much use of the tragic poets as he did of Homer, it was because all three did not possess the sententious wisdom and wonderful versatility of thought which characterized the Prince of poets. Laertes tells us that, while dining one day on olives, a friend brought him a cake, when he suddenly cited v. 40 of Euripides' tragedy of Phœnissæ:

"Hosts! yield the place to tyrants," etc.

With similar ease and freedom he parodied both Plato and his master; nor did he scruple to mock both. Plato having defined man as a two-legged animal without feathers, Diogenes plucked a large cock and threw it into the celebrated school of that philosopher; but the pupil of Socrates, instead of taking mortal offence, as an inferior teacher would have done, took the act in good part, admitted that his definition was imperfect, and improved it accordingly. Observing one day that, although Plato had a sumptuous dinner before him, he ate nothing but olives, "What!" said he, "great sage, you have travelled into Sicily to find a table served in this splendid manner, and now, when it is before you at home, you refuse to enjoy it!" "I call the gods to witness, Diogenes," replied Plato, "that when I was in Sicily I contented myself most frequently with olives, and other dishes of that kind." "In that case, then," added Diogenes, "what business had you to go to Syracuse? was it

because Attica produces no olives?" While eating olives on another occasion he met Plato and said, "You can partake with me." Plato took some and ate them. "I told you to partake," said Diogenes, "but not to eat." When Plato returned from the court of Dionysius, he invited a few of his friends to dine. Diogenes went with the rest, but his first care on entering was to trample under his feet some of the richly embroidered table-cloths of his host, saying, "Thus I trample on the vanity of Plato." "And I," said Plato, "see much pride under your contempt of vánity."*

We have remarked above that Plato was rather timid of the Sinopean, and there are some cogent reasons to believe that such was the fact. But whether he was or not, it is certain that Diogenes did not fail to give him cause enough. We will give one anecdote more in illustration of this. According to Laertes, Sotion reports in his fourth book that Diogenes having asked some wine and figs, he sent him a whole amphora of wine. "Just like you," replied the Cynic, "if one asks you how much are four and four, you will reply, twenty; you neither know how to give what one asks of you, nor how to answer the questions that are proposed to you." His biographer does not omit to mention that this is in allusion to the interminable discourses of Plato. Yet we hear of no breach between the philosophers.

At this time there were at least a dozen philosophical sects at Athens, all of which differed with each other as much as most of our Christian sects do at the present day; but they seldom, if ever, quarrelled, like the latter. The pupils of the same master sometimes differed, and criticised each other. This is true, for example, of Plato and Aristotle, but nevertheless both esteemed each other to the last. Indeed, it seems that all philosophers, worthy of the name, no matter what sects they belonged to, esteemed Diogenes. It was only the pretenders to philosophy, and the malefactors of all classes, whose vices he exposed, that calumniated him.

But we shall be the better able to estimate the character of Diogenes, if we remember that he was once sold as a slave.

* Diog. Laert.

Even while in bondage he was as independent in mind as when he enjoyed all the rights of an Athenian freeman; his master might oppress and persecute him, but he could not intimidate him, or prevent him from giving free expression to his opinions. Laertes tells us that, finally, when he was exhibited for sale and asked what he could do, he replied, "Govern men." Addressing himself to the auctioneer, he said, "Ask if any one wants to buy a master." Xeniades, a wealthy merchant of Corinth, happening to pass by at the time, was struck with the singularity of the question, and asked him what he would do for him if he purchased him. Diogenes mentioned many things, which few would fancy: such as, that he could make him sleep on the ground without a bed, throw his money, if he had any, into the river, live in some cave, or, like the philosopher himself, in a tub, etc. The merchant, being a thoughtful, intelligent man, far from being discouraged by his strange propositions, valued him all the more on their account, and cheerfully paid for him the sum demanded. He told Xeniades that, although he was his master, he would do well to obey him, as one would a physician or a pilot, without taking any account of his being a slave. His master soon saw that he was right, that it was worth his while to obey him, and he gave him his sons to educate. That Diogenes nobly acquitted himself of the task is admitted by all the principal authors of his time.

Laertes describes in full the system he pursued with the sons of Xeniades; as the description is too long to transcribe here, let it suffice to say, in passing, that there are very few modern teachers who could pretend to surpass it, especially in the skill and judgment with which the mind and body were exercised with a view to the full development of the powers of each, without injury to either. Both the young men and their fathers were forever grateful to Diogenes for his valuable instructions. Xeniades soon acquired such confidence in his integrity, that he readily intrusted him with the management of his whole property; and he had much more reason for congratulation than regret for having done so.

The sale of Diogenes has furnished subjects for many works, which are mentioned by several writers. Diogenes

Laertes acknowledges that he has derived many of his facts from one of these works, that by Eubolius, entitled *Diogenes Sold*. The same subject is also touched on by Lucian, in his dialogue entitled "The Sale of the Philosophers." Lucian, as our readers are aware, is always humorous and satirical. Like Diogenes himself, he spares none; but, also like the Sinopean, he has always truth and justice in view. There is not one of the philosophers whom he treats so gently as the great Cynic; at the same time, he hits off his foibles as they were understood in his time. He introduces Diogenes next after Pythagoras and before Aristotle. Although the part of the dialogue which relates to the Cynic is rather long, it is so characteristic, if due allowance be made for the exaggeration of the satirist, that we are sure our readers will need no apology for its introduction here. Jupiter comes forward on the platform as the proprietor of the philosophers who are to be sold, and opens the sale as follows: "Prepare the seats there, and get the place ready for the company; bring out the goods in order, but brush them up first, that they may appear handsome and invite customers to purchase them. You, Mercury, must be crier, and give notice to the buyers to assemble at the place of sale." Pythagoras being disposed of for ten minæ, Diogenes is introduced by the crier:

"*Mercury.* Would you have that dirty fellow from Pontus?

"*Jupiter.* By all means.

"*Mercury.* Hark ye, you round-shoulders, with the satchel on your back, come this way and walk round the bench. Here is a character for you, gentlemen, *manly, noble, free;* who bids here?

"*Bidder.* What is that you say, crier? sell a freeman!

"*Mercury.* Yes.

"*Bidder.* And are you not afraid he should summon you to the Areopagus for making him a slave?

"*Mercury.* He never minds being sold; for he thinks himself free in every place.

"*Bidder.* But what use can I make of such a dirty, ill-looking fellow, unless I wanted a digger or a water-carrier?

"*Mercury.* Oh! he is fitter for a porter at your door. You will find him faithful as a dog; a dog, indeed, *he is called.*

"*Bidder.* What sort of a fellow is he, and what does he profess himself?

"*Mercury.* Ask him, that is the best way.

"*Bidder.* I am afraid, by his fierce, surly countenance, that he will bark at me when I come near him, or perhaps bite. Do you not see how he takes up his staff, knits his brow, and looks angry and threatening?

"*Mercury.* Do not be afraid of him, he is quite tame.

"*Bidder.* In the first place, then, good man, of what country are you?

"*Diogenes.* Of all countries.

"*Bidder.* How is that?

"*Diogenes.* I am a citizen of the world.

"*Bidder.* Whom are you a follower of?

"*Diogenes.* Hercules.

"*Bidder.* I see you resemble him by the club. Have you got the lion's skin too?

"*Diogenes.* My lion's skin is this old cloak. I wage war, like him, against pleasures; not, indeed, by command, but of my own free will, appointed to reform the world.

"*Bidder.* A noble design. But what is your art, and in what does your principal knowledge consist?

"*Diogenes.* I am the deliverer of mankind, the physician of the passions, the prophet of universal truth and liberty.

"*Bidder.* Well, Mr. Prophet, if I buy you, in what manner will you instruct me?

"*Diogenes.* I shall take you first, strip you of all your finery, put on you an old coat, keep you poor, make you work hard, lie upon the ground, drink water, and take what food you can get. If you have any riches, at my command you must throw them into the sea. Wife, children, and country you must take no notice of, deeming them all trifles. You must leave your father's house and live in a sepulchre, some deserted tower, or a tub. Your scrip, however, shall be full of lupines and parchment, scrawled over on the outside. In this condition you shall say you are happier than the great king. If anybody beats or torments you, you shall think it no hardship nor complain of it.

"*Bidder.* How not complain when I am beaten! I have not the shell of a crab or a tortoise.

"*Diogenes.* You shall say, with a very little alteration, what Euripides did.

"*Bidder.* What's that?

"*Diogenes.* My mind is hurt, but my tongue shall not complain. But now, mind how you are to behave. You must be bold, saucy, and abusive to everybody, kings and beggars alike. This is the way to make them look upon you and think you a great man. Your voice should be barbarous and your speech dissonant, as like a dog as possible; your countenance rigid and inflexible, and your gait and demeanor suitable to it. Everything you say, savage and uncouth. Modesty, equity, and moderation you must have nothing to do with. Never suffer a blush to come upon your cheek. Seek the most public and frequented place; but when you are there, desire to be alone, and permit neither friend nor stranger to

associate with you; for these things are the ruin and destruction of power and empire.

"*Bidder.* Away with thee. Thy tenets are filthy and abhorrent to humanity.

"*Diogenes.* But hark ye, friend, after all, mine is the easiest way, and you may go it without any trouble. It is a short cut to glory. You will want no education, learning, or trifles of that sort, be you ever so ignorant—a cobbler, a sausage-monger, a blacksmith, or a butler—you will not be a whit the less admired, provided you have but impudence enough and a good knack at abuse.

"*Bidder.* I want you not for such things. You may serve, however, by and by, for a sailor or a gardener, if he will sell you for two oboli.

"*Mercury.* Aye, aye, take him; for he is so troublesome, makes such a noise, and is so abusive and insolent to everybody, that we shall be glad to get rid of him."

It is remarkable that the class of writers who have done most in modern times to render the memory of Diogenes infamous, are those who have attacked the Christian religion, either openly or covertly. There are reasons for it, however; what some of them are we may learn from Bayle. The author of the great dictionary has no objection to the censure passed by Balzac on the priest for praising Diogenes, because the monks are in some respects like the Cynics, and, in the opinion of Bayle, the former should not be encouraged.* For the same reason Voltaire joins in the modern crusade against Diogenes.

Nor is it strange that it is the same class of philosophers who accuse Diogenes of atheism; although they have no stronger proof to sustain the charge than that the Sinopean sometimes ridiculed the gods of the populace. La Mothe le Vayer, in commenting on this, remarks that he cannot undertake to say positively that a man who lived thousands of years ago was not an atheist, as some writers are pleased to represent him, but he forcibly adds that the testimony of the early fathers of the church who speak of him in terms of admiration is worth at least as much as that of any ordinary historians or biographers who have written many centuries later.† The

* "Ce dernier (the priest) me paraît digne de la censure que on lui décoche; car il faut empêcher le plus qui on petit grand on loue la mendicité des moines qu'un lecteure ne fasse attention à celle de philosophes cyniches."—*Dict. Hist.* art. Diogenes.

† "Je ne voudrôis pas assûrer, que Diogenes ne fust aussi athée que cet écrivain le fait, rien ne m'obligeant à suspendre m'a créance pour ce regard que

fathers alluded to by La Mothe are St. Chrysostom and St. Hierosmus. The former presents the life and character of Diogenes as affording many examples of religious virtues, and the latter places his greatness far above that of Alexander.

La Mothe de Vayer justly remarks that if Diogenes had been the immoral, indecent person whom he is represented by his enemies, he would not have been held in the high veneration in which he was by the Stoics, who are admitted by all to have been the most austere of philosophers. Since their chief dogma was that virtue is the sovereign good, and that none can be good who do not live according to virtue, it is incredible that they could esteem a philosopher of another sect who was guilty of the most disgusting and unnatural vices.

But many of the stories told of Diogenes by those whose vices he exposed contain their own refutation; this is true, for example, of the relations which he is alleged to have held for many years, in the most public and disgraceful manner, with the celebrated courtesan Lais. When the testimony, if such it may be called, upon which this charge is sought to be sustained is carefully examined, it is found that at the time this scandalous conduct is represented to have taken place the courtesan must have been at least fourscore years old and the philosopher over seventy!*

We have already alluded to the gratitude evinced toward Diogenes, not only by his pupils, but also by their parents. Laertes mentions another fact or two illustrative of this feeling, which tend strongly to vindicate the philosopher. "Onescritas of Ægina," he says, "had sent to Athens the younger of his two sons to be educated; the youth became so charmed with the discourses of Diogenes that he could not leave him. The elder son was then sent, and he became equally attached to Diogenes. Finally, the father himself went and became as much fascinated as his sons."† To this the biographer adds that among the disciples of Diogenes were Phocian, surnamed the Good, Stilpon of Megara, and many other distinguished men.

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l'autorité des pères qui ont parlé de luy en si bonne part. Mais de le soustenir tel parce qu'il de moquait des dieux de la populace, c'est une très vicieuse conséquence."—*De la Vertu des Païens*, tome v. p. 134.

* *Vide* Plutarch, *Apophth.*; Diogenes Laert. etc. † Diogenes Laert. in *Vita.*

What all unprejudiced good men, whose education qualified them for studying the subject, have said in defence of Diogenes is fully justified by the precepts and other remarkable sayings of the philosopher as reported by Laertes and others. We will transcribe a few of these as they occur to us, and let the reader judge for himself, in connection with what we have already shown, whether they are such as could have emanated from an illiterate, brutal person, without shame or decency. Comparing man to the lower animals, he says: "When I consider human life and those who govern it, the physicians and the philosophers, man seems to me the wisest of animals; but when I cast my eyes on the interpreters of dreams, the necromancers and those who have confidence in them, on those who pride themselves on glory and riches, nothing appears to me more foolish than man." Among the "necromancers" he includes all that numerous class known at the present day as speculators, quacks, etc.

It was natural enough that, when he indulged in denunciations of the malefactors, the latter would do all they could to insult him, but their insults were powerless to induce him to swerve in the slightest degree from what he considered his duty. At the same time none need expect to attack him with impunity. Thus, being reproached with his old failing of having counterfeited money, "Oh! yes," said he, "there was a time when I was what you are at present; but you will never be what I am now." Being sarcastically asked on another occasion how it was that the poorest and commonest gave money and other gifts to ordinary beggars, while very few, if any, gave anything to philosophers, "The reason is plain enough," replied the sage: "there are none of those people so ignorant and stupid but they may be one day lame or blind, but under no circumstances can they expect to be philosophers." He made a similar reply to one who told him that all the people mocked at him. "Perhaps," he says, "the asses mock at them also; but they do not trouble themselves about the mockery of asses, and I trouble myself with theirs just as little."

He was sufficiently frank to those who asked him reasonable questions in a civil manner. Thus, for example,

expense. A magnificent tomb having been prepared for him, it was adorned by a column of Parian marble, terminating in the figure of a dog, the philosopher having always been proud of being compared to that courageous and faithful animal. His fellow-citizens were not pleased, however, until they dedicated to him a statue of their own, the work of the greatest artist of his time, and had the following inscription engraved on it: "Time corrodes brass; but thy glory, O Diogenes! will endure throughout all ages; for thou alone hast taught mortals to rely on themselves; thou hast pointed out to them the easiest way to happiness."*

More than two thousand years have passed since the original of this epitaph was written, as transcribed at the bottom of the page. We boast of having made vast improvements since that time; but how many modern cities or governments inscribe such epitaphs on such statues to honor the memory of their great thinkers, overlooking the faults, and taking account only of the virtues, of the benefactors of mankind?

ART. II. — *Diplomatic Correspondence, Protocols, and other Documents.* Paris, Athens, and Constantinople. 1868–9.

THE present Sultan of Turkey is an element in his own government, and in that respect does not resemble his late brother and predecessor, who, in 1853–4, resisted almost the whole authority of Lord Stratford de Radcliffe before he would declare war. Since the accession of Abdul Asiz, no foreign diplomatist can flatter himself with having guided the general tactics of the Divan, of which the sovereign head, with his fits of fierce energy and his gloomy and abrupt seclusion at times, reminds one of Sultan Mahmoud of old. Armed intervention, prompt and powerful, was imperial policy, which, not long ago, frightened Prince Charles and the Roumans from their designs upon Bulgaria, and caused the downfall of the aggressive

* "Γηράσκει καὶ χαλκὸς ὑπὸ χρόνου, ἀλλὰ σὸν οὔτι
κῦδος ὁ πᾶς αἰων, Διόγενες, καθελεῖ.
μοῦνος ἐπεὶ βιοτᾶς αὐτάρκεα δόξαν ἔδειξας
θνατοῖς καὶ ζωᾶς οἶμον ἐλαφροτάταν."

Bratiano ministry of Roumania, deceitful and contemptuous toward the Turkish cabinet; and the vigor of the Sultan might have led to rashness, strange as it may appear, but for the wise guidance of his prime minister. Fuad Pasha was the one man near him who could in part control the wild outbreaks of the Sultan, but Fuad has just died in Italy. Among those left at Constantinople, hardly one of his ministers dares to tell his master an unwelcome truth, for however insignificant the ruler of Turkey may appear to Europeans and Americans, at home he is a potentate into whose presence his courtiers enter with awe and respect.

Mussulman and Christian have cause to complain of his sway, perhaps, but equally. The Mussulman, in fact, says that he is worse off than his neighbor; for the Christian pays his taxes and sits at home, whilst the Mussulman pays his taxes and is subject to the inexorable conscription. The Christian subjects of the Porte, the great majority of whom are of the Slavonic race, have, nevertheless, obtained a political equality, and, day by day, are gaining an intellectual independence. In the European provinces the fusion of the Christian and Mussulman populations is being tried on a large scale and with the best chances of success; men of the same race and language, but divided in religion, are fast learning to live in perfect accord, as the old traditions of domination of one sect and subservience on the part of others are passing away. It is only necessary to read the official reports of the British consuls, and the statements of resident foreign traders, to know that the conditions of well-being and continuous improvement exist in all but the remotest parts of the Turkish empire, savage and benighted as are the whole Ottoman people often supposed to be.

Crete, the cradle of that civilization which was brought to Europe by the Phœnicians and Egyptians, whilst Homer lived, was crowded with inhabitants and flourishing cities, and repelled all foreign aggression during ten centuries, until subdued by the Romans some sixty years before Christ. It lost its reputation about the same time, and *to Cretanize with a Cretan*, in those days was a proverb meaning to fight him with his own weapons—to lie to him. The Turks conquered Crete

in 1669, and when Greece was constituted a state, in 1829–30, the nations of Europe, which guaranteed the independence of the Hellenic kingdom, formally placed Crete under the domination of the Porte, to which it at present belongs as indisputably as the Morea belongs to King George of Greece.

England and France, at the termination of the Greek war of independence, now nearly forty years ago, were divided, as to the disposition of Crete, between their fear of too far weakening Turkey and their desire to rescue a Christian population from what was then an intolerable yoke. The West had been all enthusiasm for insurgent Greece, although European diplomatists well knew that the Greek revolution had been instigated by Russia, where the Hetæsia, or secret society directing it, held its chief sittings. Russian armies, in anticipation of a reduced resistance, were already encroaching upon Turkish soil and had even reached Adrianople—so Crete was left to Turkey. The late King of the Belgians, then Prince Leopold, instigated by that partisan of the Czar, Capo d'Istria, urged that Greece should have Crete; but among other statesmen the Greeks had not inspired a confidence in keeping with the popular ardor which their cause had awakened across the Continent. After the battle of Navarino, which ended the contest, the most conspicuous domestic feature presented by Greece was furious hatred of native factions one against another, which, before the throne was disposed of, broke out into civil war. Crete, which contained two fifths Mohammedans in its population, had only half agreed to the revolution, and a great Philhellene, Lord Aberdeen himself, was opposed to the plan of Prince Leopold. The Russian-Hellenic policy, the western powers did not believe confined to Crete alone, but as having in view the most valuable part of the Turkish empire. Even had the Sultan abandoned Crete to Greece, they foresaw that that would not suffice to obtain quiet and security for Turkey.

In what precedes will be found, in part at least, the explanation of that friendly interest which the Greeks and Cretans, in their troubles, have, of late years, always found ready at hand throughout Europe—a fancied injustice perpetrated forty years ago by the allies of Greece, to whom, by the way,

she has since owed every thing. Crete, or the island of Candia, has at present 350,000 inhabitants, about half and half Mohammedan and Christian, and half and half joined in the administration of the local government.

The abrupt resolution of the council of the Sultan to stamp out the last spark of the late Cretan movement, by turning round at last to those who supplied the combustible material, startled Europe in the beginning of last December. The world was gradually forgetting the Moslem and the Cretan; from time to time telegrams appeared giving accounts of "another bloody engagement," between the Turks and the patriots, or Greeks, it is true; but Europe and America seemed to know tolerably well how to receive such warlike news. Messages from Mr. Skinner, and reports printed by Greek consuls on either side of the Atlantic, fell to the ground almost unnoticed. But now, all of a sudden, Turkey, who had been denying the existence of anything like an insurrection in Candia for the past twelve months, fiercely accosts King George and summons him and his subjects to desist in their unneighborly practices of instigating and protecting a rebellion in the island. Such a course Greece was accused of having pursued for two years or more, unchecked by the remonstrances of Turkey to the three protecting powers of Greece—Russia, France, and England—until the Porte finally determined to redress her grievances herself.

Not only had the Greeks, according to Ottoman statements, been enrolling men and fitting out blockade runners, destined almost avowedly to stimulate the Cretan revolt from the time that revolt began, but the prime minister of Greece, who at the same time is minister of the interior, M. Bulgaris, catering for popularity which he was sadly in want of, and believing himself safe under the wings of the protecting powers, had latterly, it was declared, openly patronized systematic attacks upon the dominions of the Turk, with whom his sovereign was ostensibly at peace. A large corps of volunteers, armed and paid at the public expense, who proclaimed Crete to be their destination, paraded the streets of Athens a short time since, and their leader, Petropoulakes, who has been conspicuous in the Cretan fights, and who held a commission in the Greek

army, drove past the residence of the Ottoman minister in the Greek capital, with the Greek colors displayed from his carriage-box, and followed by some one hundred and fifty of the new legion. The Enosis and the Crete, it was currently reported, had been equipped for blockade-running, with Armstrong guns, ammunition, etc., supplied from the government arsenal at Nauplia and the dock-yard at Paros. The refugees from Crete, who had fled from the scenes of war in their own country to Argos and Ægina, and who were now desirous to return to their homes and accept the amnesty of the Sultan, were, it was alleged, prevented by the Greek mobs from so doing, and M. Bulgaris had persistently refused to protect or assist them.

The Turkish minister at Athens, Photiades Bey, who is a man of talent, a friend of Christian culture, and a Greek, was, therefore, ordered by the Porte to demand of the Greek government a direct assurance that it would prevent the departure of troops destined to reënforce the Cretans and the blockade-runners, and that it would extend help to the Cretan refugees. At the same time, Photiades Bey was to inform the Athens cabinet, that, in case of any rupture, the ports of the Ottoman empire would be closed to Greek vessels, as all Greek subjects would be ordered to depart from Turkey within a fixed time.

The following is a summary of the circular addressed by M. Delyanni, Greek minister of foreign affairs, to France, Great Britain, and Russia, in reply to the formal inquiry of the three protecting powers as to the actual condition at the time of relations between Greece and Turkey. It bears date Athens, (Nov. 27,) Dec. 9. "The four points brought into prominence by the Sublime Porte, and to which the Greek government is expected to reply, are: The dissolution by the Hellenic government of the volunteer corps of Petropoulakes; 2d. A prohibition against armed Greek vessels making voyages to Crete; 3d. Protection for fugitive Cretan families on Greek territory who desire to return to their homes; 4th. Respect for the rights of the Porte and treaties." The Greek minister then goes on to explain to the three powers:

"The government of King George could not dissolve the corps of Petropoulakes, or any other corps of its citizens, proceeding, at their own peril,

to fight abroad, the constitution of the state not permitting it to interfere with the liberty of Hellenic subjects, and the law of nations not compelling it to do so. With regard to these volunteers, the Hellenic government has taken some means to pursue and bring back, by force, to their ranks soldiers of the line who had deserted to follow Petropoulakes. For nearly three years, during which the insurrection in Candia has lasted, several hundreds of volunteers have gone and returned from there, without that being considered proof of ill-will on the part of the royal government, or as a violation of the law of nations and of existing treaties. The royal government will continue to perform what its neutrality (qualified as described) imposes upon it, by not permitting officers and soldiers in its regular service to join the bands of the recruits referred to. The government of the king has never permitted, and will not permit in future, armed Greek vessels in its ports to continue to supply with provisions the insurgents of Crete; but the institutions of the country do not allow, and the law of nations does not compel it to prevent, ships, belonging to individuals, or to commercial associations, undertaking this service at their own peril. . . . . The government of his majesty has accorded already, and will continue to accord, its protection to every Cretan emigrant who should desire to reënter Crete. . . . . More than forty convoy-ships have already left, and the government of the king has never hesitated, in spite of the much-excited national sentiment in Greece in consequence of affairs in Candia, to use the police in arresting the violence exercised by other Cretans to prevent the intended departure of some of their countrymen for home. . . . . As to the fourth point, the reference of which is obscure, the government of his majesty has never failed to respect treaties, etc., ... and has even been obliged to invoke that respect on the part of others, etc."

The admissions made by the Greek foreign minister, his defiant tone under a diplomatic guise, astonished all Europe when this document was printed, as may well be supposed. But the dispute between the two governments was almost brought to a crisis by Hobart Pasha, in command of the Turkish squadron, who, at the beginning of December, put to sea as a sort of *appui* to the remonstrances of the Porte already addressed to King George. He fell in with the celebrated Greek blockade-runner, the Enosis, which had just successfully landed about 900 of the troops of Colonel Petropoulakes in the service of the Cretan committee, at the south-eastern cape of Crete, and was on her return to Syra on the 14th of December. When at about four miles from land, the Turkish vice-admiral fired an unshotted gun to bring to the Enosis, to which the latter replied, hulling the corvette Izzidin

which accompanied the frigate bearing the flag of Hobart Pasha, having swept the decks of the latter vessel by a previous shot, which, however, did little damage. The Enosis was pursued into the roadstead of Syra, where the Turk demanded the surrender of the Greek, which the Syriots refused. Here the activity of Hobart Pasha was brought to a stand-still by the interference of French naval authoritics, who advised him to renounce his idea of blockading Syra to cut out the Enosis, until he received further instructions from his government. The Ottoman admiral desisted, upon condition that the Enosis should be conveyed to the Piræus by a Greek frigate, and handed over to the constitutional authorities, which it was promised him should be done.

Whilst Englishmen and Frenchmen were reading the details and developments of this episode at sea, the remainder of the correspondence between the minister of Turkey at Athens, and the Greek foreign minister, M. Delyanni, was published —that immediately preceding the breaking off of diplomatic relations between the two countries. We make an epitome, carefully embracing all the points, as space is wanting for the documents entire. In a note dated December 10th, Photiades Bey, in the service of Turkey, wrote:

"The cabinet of the Sultan does not consider it necessary to search for proofs of its sincerity, etc., toward the government of his Hellenic majesty. The history of the Cretan insurrection for the last three years is known, and there is little need now to enumerate the machinations concocted publicly, and under the eyes of the Greek authorities, by committees sitting in the capital of the kingdom itself, with the object of fomenting and maintaining that insurrection against the will of the immense majority of the inhabitants of Candia. The history of civilized countries is without an example of the contempt with which the law of nations has been treated by these committees. They have spared neither threat nor falsehood to the poor islanders to oblige them to take up arms against their legitimate sovereign. Bandits, under the name of volunteers, have been sent into Crete, and, by menace and fear, a portion of the unhappy people have been induced to emigrate into Greece to find there only misery and suffering. Deceived and abused, they preferred to return to their allegiance and their country, but spite of their entreaties and the intercessions of the Porte, they have not been allowed to depart; they have been kept back, in some instances by force of arms, and the few who have regained their own land have done so at the risk of their lives.

"Although tranquillity has been restored in Crete, and the rebellion, save a few roving bands in the mountains, been put down, the Hellenic leaders have persisted in raising fresh volunteers, and have kept the Cretan fugitives from returning to their homes, the easier to deceive public opinion, in Greece and Europe, as to the entire suppression of the rebellion. The documents exchanged during two years between the Turkish and Greek governments bear evidence of these facts as well as of the Sultan's moderation, though each protestation of the Porte has been invariably met with a reply equivalent to a non-reception, or a declaration of real or assumed impotency. This state of things, growing worse and worse, has deprived the Turkish cabinet of any hope of a speedy return, on the part of Greece, to sentiments of justice and respect for the laws of nations."

Here follows a list of the grievances of Turkey laid at the door of the Hellenic cabinet, among which are: a declaration made by a former minister of King George, that Greek government funds paid for and kept the blockade-runner, the Crete, at the time in active service; another ministerial declaration embodying the project of snatching Crete from Turkey at any cost; outrages unpunished upon Ottoman soldiers, and the causes of complaint already adverted to; active aid to the rebellion, disrespect of treaties, retention in Greece of Christian subjects of the Porte, etc. This note ends with the Turkish ultimatum—a final official demand, upon the Hellenic government, under five separate heads: 1st. Dispersion of volunteers and prevention for the future; 2d. Disarming of the Enosis, Crete, and Panhellenion, or, at any rate, a closing of the Greek ports to them; 3d. Permission to Cretans to return into Crete with aid and protection where necessary; 4th. Punishment for aggressions upon Ottoman soldiers; 5th. Respect for treaties. Without a full and perfect assent to which five points, the Turkish legation was to quit Athens.

The Greek minister replied to the foregoing ultimatum of the Sultan, by generalities or empty retort, in a despatch dated the 15th December, the gist of which is the substance of what he stated to the three powers, as answer to the Turkish charges, in his circular (as above given) of the 9th December. The tenor of Mr. Delyanni's despatch of the 15th is supercilious and confident, and anticipates hostilities with complacency. Relying perhaps on the habitual timidity of the Porte, the ministers of King George refused to pledge themselves that

the intrigues, or even the open acts of hostility, of which the Greeks by their own showing had been the authors for a term of years, should be brought to an end—and the Greek government in fact rejected the Turkish ultimatum. "The demands of the Porte are just and reasonable," said the London Times of the 18th December. "They amount simply to this: that the Greek government and people shall cease to carry on war against the Sultan."

The grounds assumed by Greece and the language of her ministers seemed to indicate at the outset that King George was supported in his position by some powerful ally, since a war between Turkey and Greece was simply absurd. All eyes turned upon Russia as the power interested by tradition in hectoring indirectly the Turk, and in promoting any war or rebellion which might weaken or occupy the *sick man*. The true line of the great powers appearing, upon reflection, so manifestly to be one of neutrality in the quarrel, and the statement that joint attempts at mediation at Athens had been made by Russia with France and England, seconded likewise by Prussia, seemed, however, to dissipate for the time the suspicion touching the northern power and her clandestine manœuvring.

The proceedings of Turkey were on all sides acknowledged to be dignified and just, and conscientiously observant of the common interests of peace. By her moderation, since 1854, the Porte, as a European power according to the treaty of Paris, had gained respect, and even a certain prestige among the statesmen of other countries, and the most democratic and republican journals in England and France condemned the conduct of King George's cabinet and people. "The government at Athens," said the London Daily News—the organ of radical John Bright—"has taken wrongful advantage of its own comparative irresponsibility as a protected state, of its insignificance, and of its insolvency, to bark and nibble at the much-abused and long-suffering Turk, as one sees a pert and froward little terrier bark and nibble at a good-natured mastiff, with a muzzle on its jaws."

The despatch from Mr. Delyanni, in answer to the complaints of Turkey, was considered by the Paris press, almost without

exception, as weak and unconclusive. "With the Greek minister's principle of free locomotion," said the *Constitutionnel*, "his promises to respect treaties, etc., are absurd and nil. From the moment that a nation does not consider itself bound to establish an internal police in such a way as to prevent its subjects from invading a neighbor's territory, and that, on the contrary, it proclaims as a constitutional right armed incursions, and the giving of material encouragement to insurrection in a state with which it keeps up diplomatic relations—to discuss rights and treaties seems idle. Greek interpretation of international law would sanction piracy at sea and filibustering on land."

The maritime capabilities of the Greek people are out of all proportion to their present political importance. Left to themselves, they might clear the Levant of the Turkish merchant flag, cover the Archipelago with swarms of privateers, and make every island an arsenal of insurrection. The little kingdom of Greece is but a very badly organized expression of the genius and faculty of a reckless and expanding race, which has in its classical traditions some basis for its dreams, and with a world-wide sympathy, some reason for its faith in an imperial future. It is hardly better than Turkey, so far as agriculture, roads, and the safety of travellers are concerned. "But education in Greece," says the report of the British secretary of legation for 1867, "is within the reach of all classes. The University of Athens had 1182 students, nearly equal in number to that of the University of Edinburgh." The kingdom had a population of 752,000 in 1838, and in 1861 of 1,096,000 without the Ionian islands, and to-day the total is not far from 1,500,000 souls, of which some fifty per cent. are engaged in agriculture, and twenty per cent. in commerce. Athens has 45,000 inhabitants. The army is raised by conscription, to which all males of eighteen years of age are liable, and the term of service is six years. In 1867 it amounted to 14,300 men, costing annually £1,500,000 sterling. The fleet consists of ten steamers and ten sailing-vessels, carrying, together, 182 guns, with two iron-clads on the stocks; but there are countless merchantmen, and the Greek seamen are considered inferior to none in the world. The revenue in 1865 approx-

imated to £1,000,000 sterling, and the expenditure £1,064,000. The internal debt is £800,000, while the foreign debts foot up £7,250,000, an aggregate, say, of £8,000,000 sterling, the interest upon which the government does not pay.

Turkey, financially, is in no splendid condition, however. She has borrowed during eleven years some £74,000,000 sterling, of Europe, and lately consolidated all her indebtedness into a foreign debt of £36,000,000 sterling, held mostly in England and France, upon which she just manages to pay the interest. Her revenue estimates for 1867-8 were £14,400,000, against an expenditure of £15,300,000 sterling, and according to the report for 1867 of Mr. H. P. T. Barron, the British secretary of legation, a continuance of her condition, let alone the expenses of a war, must result in bankruptcy. The sinews of war if not at hand for Turkey, for Greece, considering her financial dishonesty with her bankruptcy, are *less* than zero.

On the other hand again, the Turkish empire is a vast territory, covering the finest part of Asia, as well as a great region in Europe, and capable of furnishing levies for armies for years to come. Throughout all the Mussulman countries, the authority of the Sultan is supreme, and even Egypt would send him troops in case of necessity. If the deadly struggle takes place, the fact that the Mussulmans are less than a third part of the inhabitants of European Turkey, of course, will have its importance. But if out of a population of 15,500,000 there are but 2,000,000 pure Ottomans, among the Christians of Turkey dissensions are rife, and that, with such difficulties as attended the assertion of its independence from the Orthodox Greek creed, by the Bulgarian Church, might prevent any effective sympathy or united action with the Christians of Greece. Turkey has an army of 180,000 regular troops, of which 40,000, are retained at Constantinople, and 40,000, more or less, were employed in Crete. The remaining 70,000 and the 40,000, now that they are not required in Crete —together about 110,000 men—constitute the land force that the Turkish war minister could direct upon Greece.

In the Ottoman navy, English ideas and English practice are followed as closely as possible. The Turkish vice-admiral,

Hobart Pasha, who was a captain in the British navy, is an experienced officer of accorded merit and energetic character. During the Crimean war, the Turkish fleet, of nearly seventy vessels, was almost entirely destroyed by battles and storms, and in 1855 it was next to nothing. But in 1858 more than twenty screw-steamers had been built or purchased, numbering 820 guns, as foundation of a marine force, and latterly eight Glasgow-built iron-clads have been added thereto, some of them, like the Osman Ghazy, being equal to any in the world. At present, the Sultan's navy consists of about forty ships and 3000 men.

He must be a very sanguine Greek indeed who can believe that, if the European powers stood aside, the Turkish army and navy could not overpower the most heroic resistance of his plucky but reckless state. Even if he reckoned on the sluggishness or forbearance of Turkey—basing himself upon countless precedents, and more recently its line of conduct in meekly recognizing the union of the Danubian principalities, or its prompt withdrawal of its garrison from Servia; or if he presumes upon a religious dislike of the Mohammedan throughout Christendom—he should bear in mind, that the Ottoman is keenly aware that he owes his present safety to the exertions of England and France, in 1854, and that, as a like danger may occur again, policy, if not gratitude, impels the Sultan to act as far as he can according to the wishes of the western Christian powers. And a simple fact, like the one that the Turkish minister at Athens, who presented the ultimatum, is a Greek and a believer in Christ, is one of those instances which, upon examination, will satisfy European minds, that, if the wall of separation between the Mussulman and the Christian is not broken down in the Levant, it is not always owing to Turkish bigotry and intolerance.

The Mussulman, theologically, is no further from the Christian than is the Jew. The two great barriers between him and us are polygamy and slavery. In the Turkish empire slavery is passing away, no more white slaves are to be had, and the viceroy of Egypt has declared his intention to put an end to the trade in Nubian blacks. Polygamy will not long

survive. It is too much at variance with western notions, with which the higher classes in Turkey are becoming more and more imbued. These two reforms accomplished, and nothing remains to obstruct perfect unity in Turkey, under one sovereign and one code of laws. Religious differences have almost everywhere lost their influence in affairs of state. Two centuries ago, they governed European politics, now they have scarcely any effect. Who that knows what Turkey was forty years back and what it is now, can deny that an immense social advance has been made? The superstition of ages has been broken down; the pride, intolerance, and cruelty ingrained in the race have been effaced or repressed, and no one can truthfully assert, at the present time, that the Turkish government is a tyrannical one. Indeed, in the matter of sterling progress, the Turkish empire has not only surpassed Greece, relatively to their starting-points, but other and more important states of Europe and America. "Since the establishment of Greek independence," says a late number of the grave Saturday Review, "Turkey has advanced far more rapidly than Greece, in the process of civilization. The anti-Turkish party in England virtually propose a crusade, for the promotion of the orthodox Eastern faith, and for the aggrandizement of the Greek nation."

If any power would be disposed seriously to protect the Hellenic government in its present unjustifiable course, as before mentioned, Russia is the only one of which such a programme could be suspected. But Russia has no ships in the Mediterranean that could contend with the navies of England and France; the Black Sea is neutralized; the Russian soldiers have not yet any arms of precision. Poland is not Russified, Sebastopol is still in ruins, and the mouths of the Danube are not in the Czar's possession. Muscovite policy and bias may have been and yet be with the Greek, but the Emperor is too wise to cling to Greece, once England and France should flatly declare for Turkey and her manifest rights.

The Greeks, to be sure, may all concur with Mr. Stefanos Xenos, who wrote to the Manchester (Eng.) Guardian newspaper in the most eloquent and confident terms, that "this

savage Colossus the poor Osmanli has at last exposed to the world in all his impotence." Mr. Xenos finds 20,000 regulars and 40,000 national guards as the army of Greece, enthusiastic, patriotic, and commanded by officers trained in the best military schools of Europe. He counts 60,000 sailors, the first in the Mediterranean, reports iron-clads in the Greek navy fit to cope with Hobart Pasha's best, and points to the extensive coasts of Turkey as so very vulnerable. The Porte, he thinks, in case of war could borrow no more money of Western Europe, and although he admits that the Greeks could not obtain much, "still they will not be dragged to the battle-field like serfs!" which battle-field, according to Mr. Xenos, must be Turkish territory. He adds in conclusion, that his spirited and generous countrymen having in the last two years lent £700,000 to King George, and sent £2,000,000 to aid the Cretan insurrection, he feels sure in case of hostilities declared they would yet find something handsome to carry on the righteous fight. But without contesting his considerable figures, Mr. Xenos's assertions touching the Grecks and their means and advantages, judging by lights familiar to all Europe, are, excusably enough, decidedly rose-colored. He underrates the Turk, which is not his sole or least mistake, and with all our admiration for the more elevated Greek character, his loud praises and faith in the immaculate purposes of the modern Hellenes bring to mind some awkward stories and proverbs of their buccaneering patriotism and light-fingered friendship where neighbors or allies possessed what they chanced to covet.

The urgent representations of the different diplomatists at Athens having produced no material effect upon the cabinet of King George, the Turkish minister to Greece was recalled by the Sultan, and the Greek envoy to Constantinople received his passports, and the suspected Hellenic subjects in Turkey notice to quit.

Before leaving Constantinople, M. Delyanni, the Greek minister to Turkey, (a brother, we believe, of the Greek foreign minister of the same name,) levelled at the grand vizier and the Turkish cabinet a Parthian shot in the shape of a parting note, dated Pera, 23d December, wherein he says:

"I have received my passports and the note of your excellency. The fine conditions (those stipulated by the Turkish ultimatum) not having been officially communicated to me, I have no right to discuss them. The whole world will soon have to decide as to who is responsible for the present rupture of relations between Turkey and Greece, just declared by the Sublime Porte. The government of the king, my august sovereign, has spared nothing in order to avoid this crisis. Not only has it kept itself on a footing of legal neutrality with regard to the Cretan insurrection, etc., etc., but has, moreover, for two years past, patiently supported all sorts of acts of hostility, violence, and oppression committed in the different Ottoman provinces, to the prejudice of Hellenic co-nationalists and their interests. For the past six months I have constantly been witness to acts of this nation—arbitrary and illegal arrests, scandalous banishments, seizure of Hellenic vessels in open sea, and a constant and systematic denial of justice in all matters in which my co-nationalists were concerned. In the face of so many infractions of existing treaties, the Hellenic government has given proofs of the greatest moderation. Its representative at Constantinople confined himself to pointing out all these illegalities to the Sublime Porte, and asking a separation, which he never obtained. The Porte, misunderstanding this conciliatory disposition on the part of the Hellenic Government, has thought proper to break off, the fourth time in thirty years, its diplomatic and commercial relations with Greece—without any new circumstances having occurred different from what already existed, to justify, in the slightest degree, this rigorous proceeding, and without giving the time to bring about an arrangement. It devolves, therefore, upon the Porte, before the civilized world, to justify this harshness and the consequences. Having confided the protection of my co-nationalists to the legation of the United States of North America, etc., I beg to inform your excellency that I shall quit Constantinople," etc., etc.

One question at once suggests itself. If the Turks had been so brutally and uniformly severe upon the Greek residents in their dominions, as M. Delyanni asserts—why have they remained so pertinaciously in Turkey to make fortunes, become influential rayahs, and endure kindred torments? The Greek rayahs absorb the internal trade of Turkey, as Greek merchants and vessels almost entirely monopolize its external commerce.

Perhaps in none of the Eastern disputes had the great powers been so unanimous in their fault-finding with the domestic and foreign policy of a country as in the present Turko-Greek affair, and with the pretensions of MM. Bulgaris and Delyanni, for their government was pronounced to be positively in the wrong. By the despatches of the Greek foreign minister, the most zealous Philhellene could but per-

ceive that the Athens cabinet was, by its own account, substantially guilty of all that Photiades Bey, the Turkish mouthpiece, had laid to its charge. M. Delyanni abdicated all control by a nation over its own citizens, and made each brigand a potentate with the right to levy war and declare peace. No better proof of the hallucination of the Greek government was needed than the utterances of its own minister. In his reply, M. Delyanni had, more or less, begged the principal questions, to enlarge upon the threat by Turkey to expel in case of rupture, from her realm, Hellenic subjects settled there, who did not own the jurisdiction of the Porte, said to be some 200,000 in all. M. Delyanni also made an elaborate defence of his government, regarding its course toward the Cretan refugees, denying Greek ill-treatment, etc. He adverted to the matter of openly levying, at Athens, and drilling and equipping bands of soldiers to attack the sultan's authority in Crete, as though it were an insignificant question of a few individual Hellenes, at the same time that he tacitly admitted the complaint of wholesale connivance made by the Sultan's representatives. The unscrupulous conduct of the Greek government its minister did not deny, but sought to justify it by documents subversive of all national security.

A cordial understanding upon the Turko-Greek difference seemed, then, to exist among the great powers in their advice given at Athens and Constantinople; yet, in the face of the persistence of the Greek ministers in their course, public speculation became alive again touching the moral countenance which was sustaining King George, as the only explanation of his policy. For two years, it was alleged, the Hellenic cabinet had heard—but flippantly noticed—warnings addressed to it by England, France, and Austria on this very subject of support given to the Cretan insurrection. It was averred that M. Bulgaris and his colleagues did not believe that all the powers acting in concert were in earnest. About three of them, above named, there could be no doubt, but the Greek cabinet, it was thought, did not deem that Russia really meant what she joined the others in counselling King George. Russia, doubtless, saw with satisfaction the prolongation of the strife in Crete, as it

added to the embarrassments of the Porte; still Europe could not conceive the czar as ready to renew the struggle in which he was defeated twelve years ago, or that, in case of an outbreak between Turkey and Greece, he would grant the latter solid aid. The cabinet of St. Petersburg by public voice was called upon to give the Greeks a positive and open intimation to that effect.

Some there were who declared that Greece had only acted toward Turkey as Piedmont acted toward the two Sicilies, or as Italy, under the administration of Ratazzi, acted toward the pontifical government. There were others, perhaps, who fancied that the Moslem should recross the Hellespont, and that the European continent should contain no state not professing the Christian religion.

If Europe had freely condoned elsewhere conduct that was not easily distinguishable from that of Greece in Crete, except in point of success, the great powers seemed, in the present case, to have an acute perception of the evil of such precedents to the peace of the Continent. Such futile violations of international comity were to be discountenanced, as anarchy in Europe might be the result—whilst the Moslem of late had certainly shown himself to be a more peaceable neighbor than some of the more ambitious Christian nations.

The aggressors in the present affair were the Greeks. Their notion has been that they could play a great part in Europe and form a governing class over all the Eastern Christians in a revived Byzantine empire. It is, however, worthy of remark that the Christians of Turkey have been more eager to shake off Greek influence than Ottoman rule. The Bulgarians, for instance, thought more of being rid of Greek ecclesiastics than of bearing the civil and military authority of the Pasha. The struggles of the Greek race and Christian populations of Europe against the Mussulman did not begin with that sentimental enterprise the creation of the Hellenic kingdom, nor need they end should the Greek be devoured by the Turk to-morrow. The Mussulman power would continue to be honey-combed in Europe, and the restless and encroaching genius of the Hellene might be as active as ever in the Levant, so, simply war, or simply no war, would not permanently remedy the situation.

A project to summon a conference of the great powers on the subject of the dispute between the Porte and Greece naturally, then, found favor among diplomatists, especially as the third of the three protecting powers had been unwilling, or unable, alone, to address to Greece such a remonstrance as would have brought her to a sense of her duties, or even to join England and France in their most urgent representations. What little plea could be made for Greece was now put forward by one or two journals out of the hundreds in England and France. "Greece as a nationality was small, scarcely strong enough to stand alone," hence a natural, even excusable, desire for territory and increased population. Her classical origin and benefactions to the civilized world were stereotyped claims. Then the peoples surrounding her, and which she had tried to seduce, had more in common with the nationality of Greece than that of Turkey—almost kin in blood, they possessed the same religion. If a bit of underhand Greek policy was plausible and not without admitted precedent, and it was simply fair to give the government of King George the benefit of all that could be said in mitigation of its procedure. "Napoleon the First protested against the sittings of royal committees in London, and their warlike preparations, and the English government replied that its constitution prevented its interfering with such bodies, though England and France were at the time at peace—just what M. Delyanni replied!" wrote Mr. Xenos to the Times. "Garibaldian bands with smart uniforms and colors flying left London in larger numbers than Greek volunteers left Athens, (?) still England did not stop them any more than did the cabinet at Washington suppress the bellicose declarations of the Fenians."

But Mr. Xenos knows that those royal committees despatched no Englishmen to stir up the Chouans of Brittany; had they, the Emperor would have made quick work of them, and possibly have turned upon England to stop the nuisance. Certainly he would not, like Turkey, have deferred to foreign meddling, powerful as was Great Britain. The English, too, did eventually put a stop to the Garibaldian recruitment, and the President of the United States would arrest an open Fenian invasion movement, or, in the impossibility, leave the expedi-

tion to its fate with the greatest unconcern, as in the Walker and Lopez cases.

And at the same time it was asked for the Porte why that government should consent to defer its differences with Greece to the arbitration of the great powers. It insisted upon nothing which every one of them did not admit as its due, nothing which it had not the right and means to enforce, nothing which Europe could ask it to abate, even for the sake of peace. Turkey's wish, at heart, was to be left alone—to be permitted to compel the Greeks to discontinue their malpractice. A conference under such circumstances seemed intended to impose upon the Sultan submission to the insolence of the Athens cabinet, which appeared to believe itself backed up by Russia, and perhaps by Prussia, when members of it coolly talked of the diplomatic rupture as being a warlike one, and of a continued invasion of the Ottoman territory. It was the Greeks, in truth, who threatened war; and to propose a conference to decide whether Turkey or Greece was in the wrong, and to devise an arrangement for reconciling them, was very like taking part with Greece in the gross violation of neutrality she had so long committed and announced her intention of persisting in.

To sum up the case for a conference, the situation was thus: Greece had interfered, in a manner which her insignificance rendered worse than inexcusable, in the affairs of Turkey. The latter power demanded abstinence from future intermeddling. Moderation, the consistent policy of the Sultan, had appeared to be timidity in the eyes of the Greeks. The realizing of that mistake and the expression of European opinion might, with time, qualify the pretensions of the Hellenic ministers and calm the turbulence of the Greek people behind them, who, it was asserted, were fast pushing their government to a conflict. A conference, then, gained time, and afforded an opportunity for King George to retract.

Prussia, or Prussia and Russia, proposed the conference, "only to protect Greece against the punishment she has so well merited, and to compel, if possible, the Sultan to sacrifice to the falsely called interests of peace something more of his own independence," cried the London Standard, with much truth if

much bitterness. The Porte, "though it did not perceive the necessity of a conference, accepted the proposition, provided that the five points of the Turkish ultimatum, above given, should form the basis of the discussion, and the Crete question be not brought forward." The steady and rational temper of the divan was manifested by its adhesion to the project, and its appended stipulation was a natural and simple one.

The Ottoman rule in Europe has against it nature, sentiment, and visible destiny, even though the kingdom of George I. stand in the position of a culprit before the bar of Europe. By a little straining of one's reasoning, both parties might have been deemed, in some sort, amenable to a tribunal, or rather, to a council of arbitration, consisting of the protecting powers of the Greek kingdom and the signataries of the treaty of Paris of 1856. The first were responsible for the good behavior of their charge, the second for the integrity of the Ottoman empire. If the Hellenic kingdom was in the position of a protected state, and therefore of virtual subordination to its protectors, the Porte could not be regarded as exempt from the moral jurisdiction of the signataries of the treaty of Paris. As between the governments of France and Prussia, in the affair of Luxembourg, the Emperor set an example which no other sovereign need be ashamed to follow. France had been accused of clandestinely tampering with the King of Holland, and had raised thereby a menacing question as to the proprietorship of the duchy, which only a war or a conference could settle.

At five o'clock of Saturday, January 9th, under the presidency of the Marquis de la Valette, representing the French government, MM. the Count de Stackelberg, Russia; Djemil Pasha, the Porte; the Chevalier Nigra, Italy; Lord Lyons, England; the Prince de Metternich, Austria; the Count de Solms, Prussia; and Rizo Rangabé, Greece—met at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs at Paris, and formed themselves into a conference, all parties, excepting M. Rangabé, representing those governments which signed the treaty of Paris in 1856. The representative of Greece present had merely a consultive voice, the avowed object of the conference being how far there was reason to give satisfaction to the demands of the Turkish ulti-

matum. The announcement of this restriction pleased all who were apprehensive that Russia, who was now accused of "having been intriguing in every court of Europe to effect the annexation of Crete to Greece," would endeavor to force upon the conference a declaration as to the future relation of Crete to Turkey; or that France, declared to be fickle and uncertain, would serve her own secret purposes, antagonistic to Russia and Prussia, by levying sweeping damages upon Greece. Many were lukewarm as to the productive labors of the conference, and some remained even suspicious of the ultimate result, and hinted at the possibility of France, Russia, Prussia, and Italy forming one voice and one phalanx against Turkey, England, and Austria.

What tended to simplify matters before the conference, or what was so regarded by the outside public, was the intelligence of the surrender of Petropoulakes, the Greek colonel who had so recently reached Crete with a small but well-equipped band of volunteers. The prompt discomfiture of the veteran was considered proof that the Turks had indeed completely mastered even the Greek contingent to the quondam rebellion. For upward of a year past, it was now currently known, "the bloody Cretan insurrection" had been confined to a few small bands, flying from fastness to fastness, denuding and disturbing the native population, while the Turks had been steadily completing their system of cross-roads and block-houses, which Petropoulakes unexpectedly found all prepared to confuse, hector, and envelop him. Joined, from the other side of the island, by his son Leonidas, near Mount Ida, their united forces amounted to nearly 2500 men. They had but five days' provisions with them, and, of the ungrateful Christian peasants whom they had come to save, those who did not flee at their approach, having no thought but for their oil-crops, so far from welcoming the Greek soldiers, gave the Turkish troops information which enabled them to coop up the invaders in the mountains. A series of skirmishes cost the Greeks some 650 men, and chased, harassed, and without rations, they finally reached the seat of the phantom Cretan provisional government at Sphakia, in the hills. But the national government, which had nothing to vouch for its existence but decrees and

despatches announcing splendid victories, could only thank its self-appointed champions, and Petropoulakes rapidly retreated to Askypho, a sort of eagle's nest in the White Mountains. Here a body of 150 tried to desert, demoralization set in, and the three weeks' campaign closed abruptly by a capitulation, the terms of which illustrated Turkish cruelty on the part of Omer Nailé Pasha, to whom the surrender was made. Those terms were: "The lives of the volunteers to be spared, their baggage and arms to be returned to them upon their landing in Greece, and their food and lodging to be furnished by the Turkish authorities until they reached their own shore!"

With this surrender the last pretence of an existing rebellion in Crete has vanished. The captured volunteers were brought back to their country by Hobart Pasha, who confused M. Bulgaris considerably — the damaging moral effect of marching the patriots, as liberated prisoners, through the streets of Athens, presenting itself—by asking him where they should be landed? The band of which these captives formed a part, was intended "to wrest Crete from the Ottomans or die"—to revivify the Cretan insurrection as the special envoy of the Athenians.

Simultaneous reports touching the Turkish fleet possessed a certain interest. The Ottoman admiral since the chase of the Enosis had been blockading the port of Syra, as, after promise that judiciary investigation should meet Hobart Pasha's complaints as to the deeds of the blockade-runner, the authorities had eventually refused to act. Unable then to obtain immediate examination, Hobart Pasha had entrusted his affair to the commander of the French steamer Le Forbyn, lying in the same port, as a superior officer of one of the protecting powers. A protest was addressed under date December 16th by M. Delyanni, Greek minister of foreign affairs, to the three protecting powers, in allusion to the Enosis affair. If not suggestive of Satan rebuking sin, the protest of the Greek foreign minister, addressed to the protecting powers in whose faces the Greek government had just snapped its fingers, when remonstrated with for hostile acts of the same nature as those which were the burden of M. Delyanni's complaint—was regarded as inconsistent and even ludicrous on the

part of a cabinet which had repulsed the advice of the powers now taken into confidence and in a certain sense appealed to; and for one who professed himself so superior to the ordinary principles of international law when obedience to them would hinder his own purposes, to invoke them literally in order to stigmatize an adversary, assuming the insignificant *rôle* of a political Robert Macaire.

Upon the meeting of the Conference, in which, as before remarked, M. Rangabé had but a consultive voice, that gentleman protested at his not having the same authority as Turkey, and, deaf to all persuasion, withdrew from the sitting, (the second, we believe,) and addressed a note to the deliberating body, declining to take any place therein except upon the same level with that granted Turkey. It was pointed out to M. Rangabé that Turkey had her seat as one of the signataries of the treaty of Paris in 1856, which treaty Greece did not sign, but M. Rangabé declared that the conference being called to settle difficulties between Turkey and Greece, if Turkey had a right to be present, Greece certainly had that same and as large a right. M. Rangabé's pretension was most plausible, and confounded for a time the assembled plenipotentiaries; but the reflection that they were met rather to protect Greece from the consequences of her refusal to subscribe to the Turkish ultimatum, to show her that she was wrong and to endeavor to stay the just hand of Turkey, soon restored equilibrium, and the business of the conference proceeded. Some outside supported M. Rangabé's claim—some amongst those who had condemned Greece; others declared that a ward in chancery might as well presume to occupy the judge's seat. But all blamed the advisers of King George, who, knowing before the conference met the position Greece would occupy therein, waited until the meeting to have her representative make his confusing protest.

The plenipotentiaries pursued their work without the presence of the Grecian representative, and it immediately became apparent that they disavowed any authority over the disputants, relying solely on the moral and political influence of the states they represented. The powers might endorse the Turkish ultimatum, but if they did not, it would make no

change in the course of Turkey. They might formally declare that Greece was indisputably in the wrong, but as they were not prepared to say that Athens might be occupied by the Turk, Greece would not mend her ways.

On Saturday, January 16th, the conference, according to the Paris *Constitutionnel*, really closed its labors, and *La France* gives the text of the declaration of the plenipotentiaries, whose deliberation had been confined to the five points of the Turkish ultimatum. That declaration states that Turkey had ground to complain of a manifest violation of international law on the part of Greece, and that whatever might be her laws at home she was not to permit attacks against a neighboring state to be prepared on her territory. That her obligation is to prevent the arming in her ports of privateers like the Crete and Enosis. That she has no right to oppose the departure from her domain of Cretan refugees. On the fourth point of the ultimatum, Turkey having agreed to be governed by the decisions of the legal tribunals, and the fifth point being comprised in the other three, the declaration of the conference perfectly sustained the Turkish ultimatum. Turkey, in case Greece accepted the declaration, was to withdraw her ultimatum.

Greece was admonished by all the great powers, Russia included, that she had alienated from herself the sympathies of Europe by her course toward Turkey, and that in case of rupture she must provide for herself—for the powers among themselves gave sureties of good behavior one to another. The joint note of the conference thus became an express warning to the cabinet of King George, or was so considered by the public, that Turkey in executing reprisals, in the event of Greece refusing to adhere to the protocol of the conference, would be carrying out the deliberate judgment of Europe.

ART. III.—1. *Œuvres Complètes de* P. J. DE BERANGER. 2 vols. Paris. 1847.

2. *Ma Biographie: Ouvrage Posthume de* P. J. DE BERANGER. Paris. 1857.

3. *Songs of Béranger.* Translated by the author of the *Exiles of Idria.* London. 1837.

MUCH has been written, and little apparently understood, about following nature in literary and other art. The examples of Homer and Shakespeare are appealed to, and those writers of the *renaissance* school in Germany and elsewhere headed by Goethe. Nature, human and otherwise, has many manifestations, some poetical and others not. The Pre-Raphaelitism which would depict a toad or a cabbage-garden while neglecting the most beautiful landscape within view, is certainly not such an adherence to nature as to be entitled to our admiration. Yet the toad is fabled to have a jewel in its head, which is a poetical idea, and there is much in the habits and aspects of the animal which may suggest poetical thoughts. In treating of cabbages, it would not be necessary to allude to sauerkraut and cole-slaw; the growth of the vegetable, fed by the sunshine and the rain, and the human care and interest bestowed upon it, are themes worthy of song. In art, as in everything else, it is requisite to be true. Art deals not only with the higher truths, but with all that contain the element of beauty. This beauty doubtless resides, to a greater or less degree, in all things; yet it is not every poet who can make us perceive it in every object. Some things we are so accustomed to regard as unlovely that it is not safe for the poet to allude to them, because of the associations which we invariably attach to those objects. Yet, really, there is no distinction of truths for purposes of art. As God is one, so is his emanation, which is beauty, the same everywhere. Some objects and conditions have more of this radiance than others. What constitutes the artist is the power to perceive and to depict real beauty. It is generally easier for him to understand and to represent the

soul of the simpler existences. If he knows the limitations of his genius, he will not attempt to deal with what is beyond his comprehension.

Béranger thus understood his genius, and his success was due to that knowledge, and to his honesty in accepting and acting upon it. He wrote from within, reproducing the impressions made upon him by external objects and by his own experiences. So far he was true, and his poems are real. He might have succeeded in fictitious representations of ideal passion, but he would not attempt it. It is here that he showed his strength and his greatness. We always think of him as following Molière's rule of judging of the excellence of his works, not by submitting them to a learned critic, but noting their effect when read to his illiterate old female attendant. Béranger, as well as Molière, knew that the scholar would compare the work submitted to his critical judgment with conventional standards of excellence with which he was already acquainted, and they knew that such a taste, formed by study, is quite likely to be vitiated. For a reliable standard they rightly judged that they could confidently appeal to the native instincts of untaught and unperverted humanity. Béranger is and will be a model for the study of those who wish to learn how to deal with things truthfully—to be genuine artists.

He is not a Shakespeare nor a Goethe, but he is as real in his department as either of those great singers. In an interview with the public censor which Béranger has recorded,* that official is reported as saying to him that "song-writers are in literature what fiddlers are in music." This characterization of the *chansonnier* the poet accepts and defends. We may properly consider him from the point of view which he has deliberately selected. We may picture to ourselves the modest violinist taking his place at the street-corner, hoping that his simple strains may please the common people, and draw from them the hearty applause which is all he covets. At first only the poor and uneducated slowly collect; then the more aristocratic and cultivated pause, compelled to listen to the

* *Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 342.

ravishing melody. The crowd increases, and is joined by the rich and the noble, until the vicinage is thronged with people of all descriptions and stations, and even kings and emperors are pleased to mingle with the others, and to shower praises and presents upon the unpretending musician. The delight which all feel and exhibit proves that in the innate feelings of the heart the whole world are of kin.

It was not until he had reached middle life that Béranger gained the title of poet. For this recognition of his just claims he acknowledges himself first indebted to the Edinburgh Review. In France, previous to Béranger's day, a song-writer was not reckoned as a poet; but it is his proud distinction that his genius changed all that.

Béranger loved his fellows, and it was this love that fitted him to appreciate them, and in his turn to be appreciated by them. The service he has rendered to humanity has been very great. He was not a reformer, as that term is usually applied. He did not attempt to give the people new light, but to make them respect what was in them. His standard of morals was not on the plane with ours, but we must take into account, in our estimate of him, the influence of the circumstances in which he was placed.

Pierre-Jean de Béranger was born at Paris, in 1780. Regarding the use of the feudal particle *de*, he seems to think it necessary to make many apologies. In his autobiography he tells us that it was bestowed upon him by his father, who claimed noble descent,* and that he did not use it until some bad verses signed *M. Bérenger* had been attributed to him, when he adopted the particle as a measure of self-defence.

His father, at the time of marriage, was book-keeper to a grocer; his mother followed the trade of *modiste*. At the house of his maternal grandfather, a tailor, "in one of the dirtiest quarters of Paris," was the poet born. Neither of his parents appears to have paid much attention to him in his early years, or to have done much for him. For his mother he could not have had much affection, and he says of her, "Buffon a dit que les garçons tiennent de leur mère. Jamais enfant

* "Je dois dire, pour sa justification, que c'était la manie des chefs de la famille."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 13.

n'a moins ressemblé que moi à la mienne, au moral comme au physique."* The two spouses separated after six months of not very pleasant matrimonial life. The yet unfledged songster remained until the age of nine years in the care of his grandfather. He was sent to school in the Faubourg St. Antoine, and from the roof he witnessed the taking of the Bastile, which event, he declares, embraced almost all the instruction he received there. He was fortunately absent from Paris during the Reign of Terror; but in 1789, he and his aunt, walking together, suddenly found themselves in the midst of a crowd of men and women carrying on long pikes the heads of the *gardes du corps* massacred at Versailles. This was enough of scenes of horror for his sensitive nature. Making due allowance for his native and national vivacity, we could hardly hope that, witnessing much more of the horrible events of those days, the susceptible poet could ever have developed into the gay and light-hearted singer he became.

Soon afterward he left Paris for Peronne, in Picardy, to be placed in the care of his father's maiden sister, who kept a small inn at that place. His aunt at first refused to take him, but, looking upon his childish face, her heart was aroused in his behalf, and, bursting into tears, she promised to be a mother to him. She kept her word, and seems to have given him nearly all the love his childish years ever knew. Béranger ever remembered this excellent woman with most affectionate gratitude, and, after her death, dictated for her the following epitaph: "She never was a mother, yet she left children to weep for her." With her he passed several years of the developing period of his life. She assisted to inspire him with a taste for reading, and with her he read *Télémaque*, Racine, and Voltaire. This aunt was an ardent republican, but withal something of a devotee, and the young satirist did not forbear to ridicule some of her favorite points of faith. At the age of twelve years, during a violent storm, the pious lady sprinkled the house with holy water. A flash of lightning prostrated the young Béranger, who, on recovering, immediately said to his aunt, "Well, of what

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 38.

use was your holy water?" He had very little inclination for school, and says he does not know when he learned to read. He never had any knowledge of Greek or Latin; his acquaintance with the ancient classics was derived from translations. This ignorance he confessed to Lucien Bonaparte with some humiliation.* Yet from a careful study of the best translations within his reach, he was able to get the spirit of the best of the ancient writers.

He had desired to learn the trade of clockmaker, but his sight was so much injured that he was obliged to give it up, greatly to his regret. He tried as apprentice to a jeweler, and served for awhile in the office of a notary. At the age of fourteen years he became apprentice to a printer. It was here that he got the most of his knowledge of orthography and grammar. His master, M. Laisney, gave him valuable instructions in versification. To this excellent man Béranger afterward made the acknowledgment:

"Dans l'art des vers c'est toi qui fut mon maître."

There was at Peronne a school named the Institut Patriotique, organized upon the system of J. J. Rousseau. This school Béranger attended, and here, it would seem, he acquired the greater part of his book-knowledge. Besides history and geography, he learned to declaim in the club, and had the benefit of criticisms upon his literary attempts. His parents becoming reunited, he returned to Paris, where father and son engaged together in financial speculations. As a financier the young Béranger seems, from his own account, to have developed considerable talents. He acquired quite a fortune, which was lost in the crisis of 1798.

It was at this time that he turned his attention particularly to poetry, and studied it as an art. He labored assiduously to form a poetic system which he says, "I have doubtless since perfected, but which has scarcely varied at all in any of its principal rules." † Certain friendly capitalists had offered to

* "Jamais il ne m'avait tant coûté de dire que je ne savais pas le latin, cette langue dont je croyais, avec tout le monde alors, qu'on ne pouvait se passer pour rien écrire en français."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 89.

† *Ib.* p. 66.

reëstablish him in business, but he preferred to remain poor rather than return to the Bourse. He was now very poor, but he found great comfort in devoting himself with all the ardor of his nature to the cultivation of the poetic art. Yet he suffered much. "I gave myself up," he says, "to fits of melancholy, so much the more painful that I was no less expansive in my sorrows than I have always been in my pleasures." He attempted dramatic writing, but soon decided that his talents did not fit him for success in this field; he congratulates himself upon this conclusion with his usual willingness to know and to accept the truth of himself. He designed an epic entitled "Clovis," upon a grand scale, which he proposed to meditate upon until the age of thirty years before commencing to write it. He wrote also some solemn Alexandrines upon such subjects as "The Deluge," "The Last Judgment," and "Meditation." At the age of twenty-two years he wrote a poem in four cantos, entitled "Le Pèlerinage," an attempt to represent the simple pastoral customs of the Christians of the sixteenth century. But he decided that his genius did not lie in the direction of epic or pastoral poetry. It was only as a song-writer—as one of the fiddlers of the literary orchestra—that he could hope to succeed. To the specious temptations of journalism he never yielded.*

About this time Béranger gave much attention to the works of Chateaubriand, which inspired him with great enthusiasm. At one time he became so discouraged with his poverty and his want of success that he seriously proposed to join Bonaparte in Egypt. A friend dissuaded him from this project, and his native gayety and his muse rescued him from melancholy. He abandoned himself to love, wine, and song, celebrating the praises of Lisette and Frétillon, of "Roger Bontemps," "Le Grenier," "Les Gueux," and "Le Vieil Habit." Then, as afterward, he would often sing:

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* "Il eût voulu me voire écrire dans les journaux; mais je ne me sentis jar mais de vocation pour ce genre de travail, qui a fini chez nous par dévoretant de jeunes talents, nés peut-être pour un avenir de gloire, et qui d'ailleurs effrayait ma plume paresseuse et ma conscience timorée. Pour m'adonner à une pareille profession, il eût fallu renoncer à mes belles espérances poétiques, à mes rêves c'eût été rendre ma mansarde bien solitaire."—*Ma Biographie*, p. 93.

"Chantons le vin et le beauté,
Tout le reste est folie." *

In deliberate prose he could say of the same period of his life:

"Oh! que la jeunesse est une belle chose, puisqu'elle peut répandre du charme jusque sur la vieillesse, cet âge si déshérité et si pauvre! Employez bien ce qui vous en reste, ma chère amie. Aimez, et laissez-vous aimer. J'ai bien connu ce bonheur; c'est le plus grand de la vie." †

The poetic system which Béranger was now laboring to develop, and to which he devoted all the resources of his active mind, was founded upon eternal principles of art. For this reason it was not required of him afterward to change but only to perfect it.‡ He says of his inspiration "*Le peuple: c'est ma muse;*" he explains by declaring, 'When I say people, I mean the crowd—the common people, if you will."§ In taking his inspiration from the heart of the common people, he appealed to those qualities which are inherent in all. From his circumstances, while his poetical style and philosophy were forming, he had little opportunity to study any of the higher classes. It was perhaps best for him that it was so. Certainly he could get a better knowledge of human nature, and more easily learn how to deal with it, from those who are comparatively untaught, and consequently more simple and truthful. The same emotions exist in all, and the general instincts of human nature are everywhere similar. Yet Béranger's studies of humanity were not confined to the common people; he always studied men, and wherever he could find them. He is the poet of humanity in its social aspects. His love of rural nature was well developed, but it seems not to have been a passion with him. He did not attempt a pretentious style of verse, and for attempting so little and doing what he did undertake so thoroughly, he was rewarded eventually with a share of fame which few have ever obtained during life. He says, "I have

* *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 362.

† Notice prefixed to the *Œuvres Complètes* of Béranger, editon of 1834.

‡ "Les rêves poétiques les plus ambitieux ont bercé ma jeunesse. Il n'est presque point de genre élevé que je n'aie tenté en silence. Pour remplir une immense carrière à vingt ans, dépourvu d'études, même de celle du latin, j'ai cherché à pénétrer le génie de notre langue et les secrets du style."—*Œuvres*, t. i. p. xv.

§ Préface, 1833.

only taken what others have rejected;" and further, "I espoused the poor *fille de joie* with the intention of rendering her worthy to be presented in the saloons of our aristocracy; without, however, forcing her to renounce her former relations, for it was necessary that she should remain a daughter of the people from whom she expected her dowry." * This stone, rejected by other builders of rhymes, has become an important and attractive portion of the poetical arch of the century. Ugly and even foul as it appeared to others when lying in the mud of the streets, Béranger discerned its hidden worth, and knew that it only needed cleaning and polishing to be recognized by all as a gem of value.

The early poems of Béranger, which first gave him a name, are not among the best of his works, but, like the youthful publications of Schiller and Goethe—the "Robbers" and the "Sorrows of Werther"—they will always, probably, be among the most popular with the masses. The subjects of these poems and their style of treatment were such as to appeal directly to the heart of the common people of France. Their gay humor is charming. "Le Petit Homme Gris" is a good specimen:

"Il est un petit homme
Tout habillé de gris,
Dans Paris.
Joufflu comme une pomme,
Qui, sans un sous comptant,
Vit content,
Et dit: 'Moi, je m'en;'
Et dit: 'Moi, je m'en;
Ma fois, moi, je m'en ris!'
Oh! qu'il est gai le petit homme gris!" †

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 188.

† "There is a little man
All dressed in gray,
He lives in Paris,
And he's always gay;
He's round as an apple
And plump as a pear;
He has not a penny,
And he has not a care;
And he says, 'I laugh,
And I laugh, and my plan,'
Says he, 'is, by jingo,
To laugh all I can.'
Oh! what a merry little fat gray man."
Œuvres, t. i. p. 26.

Similar in style is "Les Gueux." To render attractive persons in the poorest outward circumstances, it is required that they be invested with a merry humor, and treated in a careless and rollicking manner. Burns recognized this fact, and illustrated it in his "Jolly Beggars." To Béranger this style of treatment was quite natural.

"Les gueux, les gueux,
Sont les gens heureux;
Ils s'aiment entre eux,
Vivent les gueux!
Des gueux chantons la louange.
Que de gueux hommes de bien!
Il faut qu'enfin l'esprit venge
L'honnête homme qui n'a rien."*

His two poems "Le Roi d'Yvetot" and "Le Senateur" are the earliest specimens we have of his political satire—a species of writing which afterward added greatly to his reputation and to his troubles. In 1809, Béranger was appointed to a place in one of the bureaux of the Imperial University, with a salary of one thousand francs a year. This place he retained twelve years. He tells us that his reputation began in 1813, at which time he was admitted into the literary circle of the "Caveau," of which he was soon reckoned one of the choicest spirits. From that period his fame steadily increased until the close of his life, and long before he

"Heard the heavens fill with shoutings"

of his name. At this epoch also he began to be admitted into the higher ranks of society. But the temptations of his position, and the flatteries of the great did not spoil him, for he ever retained his *naïve* simplicity, and his sympathy with the common people. Had his reputation been acquired at an earlier age, it might have been different. Though his father was a stanch royalist, he had early embraced republicanism, and adhered to his sentiments with firmness and sustained them with ardor. On the restoration of the Bourbons, tempting offers were made to him to support legitimacy, but his reply was, "Let them give us liberty in exchange for glory; let them

* *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 42.

render France happy, and I will sing to them without reward."* Lucien Bonaparte had early befriended and encouraged him, and had procured him the pension which he received from the institute. After the downfall of the Napoleonic dynasty, Béranger gave up this pension to the father of Madame Lucien Bonaparte.

His first volume of poems was published in 1815. The result of this was to establish him as the song-writer of the opposition. In 1821, he published two volumes of songs, old and new. This issue comprised ten thousand five hundred copies, and was made on his own account. The sale exceeded his most sanguine expectations, and the result placed him in very comfortable pecuniary circumstances. For this publication he was prosecuted by government and sentenced to an imprisonment of three months and a fine of five hundred francs. He passed his time in his prison of Sainte Pelagie very gayly, he tells us, and here composed some of his best pieces. The progress of his trial was marked by several effusions, one of which is "La Muse en Fuite:"

"Quittez la lyre, ô, ma muse!
Et déchiffrez ce mandat,
Vous voyez qu'on vous accuse
De plusieurs crimes d'état.
Pour un interrogatoire
Au palais comparaissons
Plus de chansons pour la gloire!
Pour l'amour plus de chansons!
Suivez-moi!
C'est la loi,
Suivez-moi de par le Roi."†

His third publication was made in 1825, and his fourth in 1828. The latter subjected him to a fresh prosecution, which resulted in a sentence to nine months' imprisonment and ten thousand francs fine. Prison life, he says, had a charm for him, which was certainly fortunate. He suffered somewhat, he admits, during the first four months of

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 177. † *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 14.

his imprisonment at La Force, but his muse afterw rescued him from gloom. He received many grateful tentions here, being visited by Victor Hugo, Sainte-Bei and Alexandre Dumas. His last volume of poems was p lished in 1833.

The subjects of Béranger's poems are generally such appeal to the heart of the common people. Of love sings much, and usually according to the taste of auditors.

"Dieu lui-même
Ordonne qu'on aime,
Je vous le dis, en vérité :
Sauvez-vous par la charité."*

He is not always so delicate as the standard of present age requires, and finds it necessary to apolo in his first volume for following "the rather cynical licei of our old literature." Yet he seems to have si of love, as of other human emotions, from his sympatl with others, rather than from any selfish passion. was certainly not an ideal lover in person. He bec quite bald at the age of twenty-three, and says of hims "Ill-favored, and of mean appearance, I have never been circumstances to expend much on women." He makes m sport at the expense of his baldness, and has a poem entit "Mes Cheveux."

"Mes bons amis, que je vous prêche à table,
Moi l'apôtre de la gaieté!
Opposez tous au destin peu traitable
Le repos et la liberté :
A la grandeur, à la richesse,
Preférez des loisirs heureux,
C'est mon avis, moi de qui la sagesse
A fait tomber tous les cheveux."†

The early loss of his hair was not, however, an altoget uncompensated misfortune. In 1801, dwelling in a ga in the Rue Saint Martin, he tells us he found it difficult to support life on bread and cheese, notwithsta

* "*Les Deux Sœurs de Charité*," *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 191.
† *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 41.

ing the violence of his appetite. But how to escape the conscription, whose officers were everywhere active? To accomplish this he found it only necessary to take off his hat to the officers, who readily believed him to be a man of forty-five years, and who, consequently, never thought of asking to look at his papers.* His love-poems are doubtless mostly imaginary. Lisette, the subject of so many of his songs, was a mythical personage, borrowed from the literature of the eighteenth century. Yet he had a heart for all the emotions of which he sings, and we readily believe him when he says, "Mes chansons, c'est moi."† Regarding his feelings toward the fair sex, a passage in *Ma Biographie* shows the poet in a very amiable light, and gives us a high opinion of him:

"La tendresse pleine d'estime que ce sexe m'a inspirée dès ma jeunesse n'a cessé, d'être la source de mes plus douces consolations. Ainsi j'ai triomphé d'une secrète disposition à l'humeur noire, dont les retours devinrent de moins en moins fréquents, grâce aux femmes et à la poésie. Il me suffirait de dire grâce aux femmes, car la poésie me vient d'elles."—P. 76.

After reading this tribute and acknowledgment, we are sure no charitable woman will scorn Béranger, however much she may be shocked at the freedom of some of his songs. Not many of his love-songs exhibit a very refined sentiment, but some of them are tender and sweet. The passion of love was very ardent with him, as we may judge from such poems as "Frétillon," "Beaucoup d'Amour," "Quelle est Jolie," and "Rosette."

"Ah! que ne puis-je vous aime,
Comme autrefois j'aimais Rosette."‡

Late in life he often sang his regrets that the days of love were past. Yet again, in "Encore des Amours," he sings:

"Ah! c'est encore quelque beauté traitresse;
Tous les amours ne sont pas envolés."

A lovely picture is that of "Claire," and worthy of any

* *Ma Biographie*, pp. 84, 85.
† Préface, 1833.
‡ *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 315.
§ *Ib.* t. ii. p. 167.

poet. The pleasures of love and wine are generally associated by light natures, and Béranger had not the loftier soul or the correct training to spurn this union, as is illustrated in his song, "Le Printemps et l'Automne:"

"Deux saisons règlent toutes choses
Pour qui sait vivre en s'amusant;
Au printemps nous devons les roses,
A l'automne un jus bienfaisant.
Les jours croissent; le cœur s'eveille;
On fait le vin quand ils sont courts.
Au printemps, adieu la bouteille!
En automne, adieu les amours!"*

Béranger's sparkling wit and rollicking gayety contributed principally to his popularity among a people where such qualities are highly esteemed. His satire is biting, yet not malicious. He scatters his bolts of wit and sarcasm right and left, yet in a playful manner, and seems never to desire to injure any one, only to excite a laugh. Yet he as well as his victims sometimes discovered that this playing with fire is dangerous. His charitable nature led him oftener to indulge in a gay humor than in wit or sarcasm, and in this province he is always delightful. He was ever observing objects that excited his laughter, and he represented their comic aspects so as to make others perceive them and laugh with him. In his gay moods he resembled his "Roger Bontemps;"

"Aux gens atrabilaires
Pour exemple donné,
En un temps de misères
Roger Bontemps est né,"†

His pictures of Bohemian life are admirable. Some of them are only too true to nature, but he makes us sympathize with his characters. Mürger's "Scenes of Bohemian Life" contains

* "Two seasons of all things dispose,
For those who know life's real use;
We're indebted to spring for the rose,
And to autumn for grapes and their juice.
The short days the wine-season bring;
As they lengthen our hearts wake and move.
Adieu to the bottle in spring,
And farewell in autumn to love!"—*Œuvres*, t. i. p. 22.

† *Ib.* t. i. p. 12.

many such pictures as Béranger's "Le Grenier," but nothing more truthful. Another illustration of this kind of life is given in "Les Cinquante Ecus." The ills of sublunary existence, of which it would seem that he had more than his share, touched him but lightly.

"Ma gaieté s'en est allée;
Sage ou fou qui la rendra?
A me pauvre âme isolée
Dieu l'en récompensera."*

To so kindly and genial a disposition tears are as native as laughter. Béranger often makes us weep for those whom, but for his influence, we should perhaps have passed by with indifference or scorn. For specimens of pathos, and as showing his sympathy with all misfortune, take "La Bonne Vieille," "Le Violin Brisé," "La Pauvre Femme," and "Jacques." Of a somewhat different kind, but equally humane, are "Le Vieux Vagabond" and "Le Juif Errant." Béranger's muse did not scorn the lowest human subject, and she invests all with a peculiar charm. His pictures of common characters are such as will long live in the memory of the reader. Such are "Le Maître d'Ecole," "Le Vieux Ménétrier," "Paillasse," "L'Aveugle de Bagnolet," and "Le Bon Vieillard." In such poems as "Le Vieux Drapeau," "Le Vieux Sergent," "Les Deux Grenadiers," and "Le Vieux Caporal," he touched a chord in the heart of every true Frenchman. His love of military glory and his patriotism find free expression in his songs. The two occupations of Paris by the allies called forth some bitter satires. Yet even here he sees the comic aspects of things, and gives "L'Opinion de ces Demoiselles" respecting the occupation subsequent to the Hundred Days.

"Viv' nos amis!
Nos amis les enn'mis!"†

There is an occasional burst of a wild spirit of adventure and enthusiasm for a life in strange and unusual circumstances, as in "Les Bohemiens," "Les Contrabandiers," and "Le Chant du Cosaque." Quite as imaginative, but less weird and

* *Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 11. † *Ib.* t. i. p. 171.

outré, are "La Voyage Imaginaire," "Le Tailleur et la Fée," "La Petite Fée," and "La Métempsychose." For specimens of playful satire we have "Les Marionnettes" and "Les Infinements Petits."

Béranger was always poking fun at the priests, as in "Les Capucins" and "Mon Curé." Even the Pope does not escape, for we have "Le Bon Pape," "Le Fils du Pape," "Le Mariage du Pape," and "La Mort du Diable."

> "Dieu sera plus grand que le pape,
> Le diable est mort, le diable est mort."*

Yet his satire did not prevent the Catholic clergy of France, to their honor be it mentioned, from rendering ample justice to the merits of the poet and the man. In 1849, the Archbishop of Paris, accompanied by one of his vicars-general and by the Curé of Passy, visited Béranger in his modest retreat, to pay his respects to the brilliant star of French literature.

The poet at one time shared in his countrymen's hatred of the English, and can be excused for a fling at them after the entry into Paris, in 1814:

> "Quoique leur chapeaux soient bien laid,
> *God dam!* moi, j'aime les Anglais;
> Ils ont un si bon caractère!
> Comme ils sont polis! et surtout
> Que leurs plaisirs sont de bon goût!"†

His love of humanity often rose into a noble, statesmanlike enthusiasm for the rights of men as peoples and as nations. He sings much of liberty, and his hymn, "La Sainte Alliance du Peuples," is a grand lyric of humanity. Béranger assures us that he greatly loves the woods and fields; yet he does not in his poems show an intimate acquaintance with nature. He seldom represents still life, but his rural pictures are generally associated with human interests and actions, as in "Les Vendages." The birds are especially dear to his heart, as we can well understand, for his nature was quite similar to theirs. His love and appreciation of them are exhibited in "Les Rossignols," "Les Hirondelles," and other poems. He sometimes

* *Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 169.

† *Ib.* t. i. p. 102.

looks on the serious side of life and considers it thoughtfully, as in "Le Jour des Morts." In "L'Orage" the disposition to be gay when one can, in spite of adverse and threatening circumstances, is well exhibited:

"Chers enfants, dansez, dansez!
Votre âge
Echappe à l'orage;
Par l'espoir gaiement bercés.
Dansez, chantez, dansez!"*

Popular superstitions he respects, and employs where he can render them poetical, as in "Les Etoiles qui Filent." His delight in song is well expressed in his poem entitled "Ma Vocation:"

"Jeté sur cette boule,
Laid, chétif, et souffrant:
Etouffé dans la foule,
Faute d'être assez grand;
Un plainte touchante
De ma bouche sortit:
Le bon Dieu me dit: Chante,
Chante, pauvre petit!"†

It is next to impossible to transfuse the spirit of Béranger into a foreign language. As well undertake to preserve the foam, and sparkle, and aroma of the richest champagne when turning that liquor into brandy, as to render our poet's best songs into anything like literal English. The English translator of Béranger must accept this proposition: given a poem in one language which produces a certain effect, to write a poem in another language which shall produce the same or a similar effect. To accomplish this the movement in the two languages must often be quite different. No one but a person of fine poetical instincts and thoroughly practised in the

* *Œuvres*, t. i. p. 369.

† "Squalid, faint, and suffering, hurled
Up and down this wheeling world;
Crushed among the crowds of men,
Myself too weak to press again;
I breathed a deep and bitter sigh,
That spoke my spirit's misery;
Some God that heard suggested, 'Sing,
And song shall consolation bring.'"—*Ib.* t. i. p. 183.

versifying art can properly translate Béranger; consequently we have few good renderings of his lyrics—few that give us their spirit, which is as evanescent as the morning dew. That eccentric but delightful genius, "Father Prout," was well fitted to appreciate Béranger, and has given us some excellent translations of his lyrics. As a specimen, we give a stanza or two from

THE GARRET.

"Oh! it was here that love his gifts bestowed
On youth's wild age!
Gladly once more I seek my youth's abode
In pilgrimage.
Here my young mistress, with her poet, dared
Reckless to dwell;
She was sixteen, I twenty, and we shared
This attic cell."

"Yes, 'twas a garret! be it known to all,
Here was love's shrine:
There read, in charcoal traced along the wall,
The unfinished line.
Here was the board where kindred hearts would blend:
The Jew can tell
How oft I pawned my watch, to feast a friend
In attic cell!

"Oh! my Lisette's fair form could I recall
With fairy wand,
There she would blind the window with her shawl—
Bashful, yet fond!
What though from whom she got her dress I've since
Learned but too well?
Still, in those days, I envied not a prince,
In attic cell!"

Another piece, much admired in the original, but by no means so attractive in its English dress, is "The Shooting-Stars," from which, however, we can only snatch a fragment:

"'Shepherd, thou sayest our earthly doom
Obeys some star's mysterious power?'
'Yes, my fair child, but night's deep gloom
Veils from our eyes the destined hour.'
'Shepherd, thou readest the stars aright,
Hast tracked each planet's wandering way;

Say, what betides yon falling light,
Which shoots and shoots, and fades away ?'

" 'My child, some mortal breathes his last;
His star shoots downward from its sphere:
That being's latest hours were past
Mid jovial friends and festive cheer.
All reckless sped his summoned sprite
While flushed in evening sleep he lay—
See! yet another fleeting light,
Which shoots and shoots, and fades away.' "

Béranger's style is remarkably pure and simple. There are no forced expressions, no attempts at grandiloquence—hardly a useless epithet. It is said that he acquired much of his simplicity of style and purity of diction from a careful study of the Greek and Roman classics in translations. He composed in general very laboriously, and was assiduous in correcting and polishing his pieces. He says that he never wrote more than fifteen or sixteen songs in a year. Some of these would be written in two or three hours, but the majority were the product of much patient labor.

Béranger is a social poet. All the moods of ordinary humanity are his; but the highest aspirations of the soul and the profoundest feelings of the heart do not belong to him. Yet who can help loving the vivacious, genial, sympathetic, earnest-hearted Frenchman? We take him to our hearts, but there are depths in it which he does not fathom; we admire him, but do not bow in adoration as in the presence of the loftiest spirits. Concerning the deepest social problems he gives us no new light. He considered human manifestations mostly in their external aspects, not attempting to understand or to reach the main-springs of feeling and action. He belonged to the period of childhood and youth in poetry; its manhood and ripe age have few representatives. It is well to set the ages of infancy right before attempting to deal with maturity, and here Béranger did a great work.

To a high order of genius a certain reserve and dignity are native. It is very difficult to sensitive natures to display their inmost hearts to the gaze of the public. Yet to do this constitutes the highest order of literary excellence. A genius like

Shakespeare reveals himself in representing others. There is an imaginable order of excellence where the possessor shall have the finest and the deepest emotions and shall completely unveil them to the world without reserve or fiction. Such a poet we believe the world has not yet seen, nor, perhaps, is it worthy of it. In the poet's age of love and the Christian's millennium, all will so reveal themselves. Could some lofty-statured soul conquer self so far as to do this, he would greatly contribute to

"Lead up the golden year."

Béranger has little of this poetic dignity. Such as he is he gives himself to us unreservedly. Yet he is not one of the highest-statured for whose coming we look as for a new evangel. For what he was, of which he so frankly gives us the benefit, we owe him gratitude.

For the man Béranger we have even a higher admiration than for the poet. Among men, indeed, there have been few who so excite our esteem and love. His autobiography is a charming piece of writing, exhibiting the *naïve* simplicity of the man. He is sufficiently egotistical, but not at all too much so. He wishes us to know him as he is, and we are quite willing to take his account of himself and his motives. It would, indeed, be quite impossible to disbelieve a word he says of himself, which at all affects his character. We feel that he knows himself better than any one else could know him, and that he is thoroughly honest.

Béranger early became interested in politics, and watched the varied and momentous events of his day with the keenest interest. By nature a republican, he yet had considerable enthusiasm for Napoleon. Yet he early perceived the tendency of the Corsican's ambition, and refused to blindly follow him, thus showing his great superiority to the majority of his countrymen. "The patriotic love of country," he says, "was the great, I might almost say the only passion of my life."* He contributed to the Revolution of July, 1830, and showed his wonderful power of divination in a letter to Lucien Bonaparte

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 22.

in which he predicted the events that followed. His friends urged him to accept a place in the ministry. "What place shall I take?" he asked. That of Public Instruction was suggested. He feigned acquiescence, and declared that he should insist upon the adoption of his songs as a text-book in the schools for young ladies. The absurdity of the proposition was thus made apparent.*

Independence was one of Béranger's most marked characteristics. And this quality was not at all affected, nor does it seem to have been at any time assumed for the purpose of exciting admiration and receiving greater favors than those first declined. He respected himself, and compelled others to respect him. He was always content to be valued at his true worth, and preferred his own estimate to that of others regarding himself. This was true not only as respected his writings —wherein he had his reward—but, what was more extraordinary, he refused to be placed higher than what he thought proper in the social and political scale. During much of his youth and manhood he was very poor, and he learned to bear the yoke of poverty with contentment and dignity. It was doubtless fortunate that his reputation did not come sooner, as when he began to be courted his character and his sympathies were immovably fixed. "Thrown into the midst of the most opulent society," he says, "my poverty was the cause of no embarrassment to me,for it cost me no effort to say, 'I am poor.'"† And further, that, when first admitted into opulent society, "Already a man of experience, I kept fast hold of my cradle and the friends of my infancy. How often, also, after being present at sumptuous banquets, in the midst of new acquaintances, I have gone to dine the following day in a back shop or a garret, in order to retemper myself among the companions of my poverty!"‡ He was always very fond of the society of young men, even in his ripe age, and declares that he learned more from them than they could do from him. He was much courted during his latter years by the distinguished and the powerful, yet not always successfully. Chateaubriand sought his acquaintance, yet never gained it. Lafayette had be-

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 246. † *Ib.* p. 185. ‡ *Ib.* p. 127.

friended and wished to know him, yet he says he obeyed his instinct in not visiting "l'homme des deux mondes," whose glories he had so well sung. Talleyrand was very desirous to meet him: "Why do you not invite him to dinner?" one asked. "I am too great a lord to expose myself to a refusal," was the answer.* He steadily refused to go to court and be presented to Louis Philippe, though the monarch sought his acquaintance. He firmly declined to allow his friends to urge his admission into the French Academy, because, while recognizing the advantages which such a position would secure to him, he believed he should be out of place there. After much entreaty he consented to become a member of the Constituent Assembly of the Republic, in 1848, for which he received more than two hundred thousand suffrages, but offered his resignation soon afterward.

The latter years of Béranger's life were passed in opulence, among hosts of ardent friends, and in the enjoyment of a fame which is vouchsafed to few. He was satisfied with the reputation of the greatest song-writer of his age, and never attempted to succeed in other departments of literature. Having acquired sufficient fame, he rested content. His death took place in 1857. The government took charge of the obsequies, and the magnificent city of Paris

"Had seldom seen a costlier funeral."

This pomp was not of Béranger's seeking. Years before, in "Mon Tombeau," he had given his opinion upon the proposal of his friends to erect to his memory a costly tomb, and his sentiments did not change. We doubt not that, could he have had his way, he would gladly have directed the expense of his costly funeral to be given to the poor of Paris. Yet the government did well in honoring literature and humanity by thus glorifying the memory of the departed poet.

Béranger had written an epitaph for his muse when at Sainte Pelagie, and it is worthy of her:

"Venez tous, passants, venez lire
L'épitaphe que je me fait:

* *Ma Biographie*, p. 242.

J'ai chanté l'amoreux délire,
Le vin, la France et ses hauts faits.
J'ai plaint les peuples qu'on abuse;
J'ai chansonné les gens du roi:
Béranger m'appelait sa muse.
Pauvres pécheurs priez pour moi!
Priez pour moi, priez pour moi!" *

Thiers called Béranger on his death-bed the Horace of France. The title was well bestowed and the parallel has been carried out in detail by French critics.

Béranger could say on his death-bed, "My life has been that of an honest man," and we believe him. His standard was not the highest, but considering his education and surroundings, we have abundant reason for admiring the man. In no relation of life does he appear to have been false to his better nature. He had some enemies during life, but no one who could appreciate his warm sympathies could long feel resentment toward him. He always loved others better than himself. "*Le bonheur de l'humanité a été le songe de ma vie*," † he declares, and we cannot doubt it.

It was his deep sympathy with humanity that made him a poet and secured his success. He did not attempt to reform mankind, but simply to please them. Yet his works have not been without their use in contributing to the progress of humanity.

What is needed to make men love each other is that they shall know each other better. The principal chords in all our hearts are tuned in unison; it is only our ignorance and distrust that prevent us from recognizing this fact. As soon as this harmony is perceived we learn to love each other. Christianity teaches us to act charitably from principle. Few however, are so enlightened, or so devoted to duty, as to act from this impulse. Man is by nature selfish, and only when he learns that love is the most enlightened selfishness will he act in accordance with its laws. We learn to repress our highest and finest emotions, and suffer accordingly. Let the flood-gates of our hearts once be opened, and we are astonished

* *Œuvres*, t. ii. p. 33. † Préface, 1833.

to learn what genuine enjoyment there is in human sympathy —how helping to bear the burdens of others makes our own lighter. To those who, like Béranger, assist to open those floodgates of feeling—to the poets of humanity—we owe a debt of gratitude. Let us pay that debt, not because the poet needs it, but because it is good for us to do so. By our sympathies with them we shall be raised to a higher life.

ART. IV.—1. *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique Centrale durant les Siècles anterieurs à Christophe Colomb, écrite sur des documens originaux et entièrement inédits, puisés aux anciennes archives des indigènes.* Par M. l'Abbé BRASSEUR de BOURBOURG, ancien aumonier de la Legation de France au Mexique, et administrateur ecclesiastique des Indiens de Rabinal (Guatemala.) Paris: Arthur Bertrand. 1857.

2. *Description of the Ruins of an Ancient City discovered near Palenquè, in the Kingdom of Guatemala in Spanish America.* Translated from the original report of Don Antonio del Rio; followed by a critical investigation and research into the history of the Americans, by Dr. PAUL FELIX CABRERA. London. 1822.

3. *Mèmoire sur l'Ecriture figurative et la Peinture didactique des anciens Mexicains.* Par M. AUBIN. Paris. 1849.

4. *The History of Mexico, collected from Spanish and Mexican historians: to which are added critical dissertations on the land, animals, and inhabitants of Mexico.* By the Abbé D. FRANCISCO SEVERIO CLAVIGERO. Translated from the Italian by Charles Cullen, Esq. 3 vols. Philadelphia. 1834.

UNTIL the recent researches of Messrs. Aubin and Brasseur de Bourbourg it had been generally believed that but little in the shape of a connected history of ancient Mexico and Central America existed. The unconnected, and not always impartial, accounts given by the Spanish historians of the nations subdued by Cortez and his successors have mainly contributed to this belief; and owing to the barbarous fanaticism of

Diego Landa, who destroyed all the native archives and records he could find, no connected history has been found of the long period which elapsed between the era of Zamna, (or Itzamal,) the early law-giver of Yucatan, and the foundation of the Toltec empire in Mexico. The attention of the Spanish historians was directed more to the religion and religious ceremonies which they found prevailing in Central America than to the early history of the people; and their works abound in descriptions of the magnificent temples, pyramids, monuments, and ruins of ancient cities, which filled them with astonishment. Las Casas, Clavigero, Lizana, Cogolludo, and other of these early Spanish writers seem to have fancied themselves in a land of magicians and powerful demons, and the zeal of the missionaries who followed in the footsteps of Cortez was proportionably excited to accomplish the expulsion of these evil spirits, and the extermination of idolatry among the natives. The military adventurers cared for nothing but gold and silver, and to the acquisition of the precious metals they sacrificed everything. Hence it is not to be wondered at that the antiquities and early history of Mexico should have been neglected.

It was reserved for the learning and enterprise of modern explorers to decipher the Mexican hieroglyphics and inscriptions, collect the scattered records of the past, and form them into a connected history. Foremost among these is the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, who undertook the task in fulfilment of the grand object of his life. From early youth he had been fired with the idea of making as important discoveries among the relics of antiquity on this continent as Young, Champollion, Layard, Rawlinson, Hinckes, and others had made in Egypt and Assyria.* Circumstances at length opened the way for the accomplishment of his desires. Under the auspices of M. Levasseur, Minister Plenipotentiary of France in Mexico, he went to Central America, in 1848, as Almoner

* He says, in the introduction to his work, p. 111: "Un vague pressentiment me montra, dans le lointain, je ne sais quels voiles mysterieux, qu'un instinct secret me pensait à soulever, et entendant parler de Champollion, dont la renommée commençait à pénétrer même dans les colléges de la province, je me demandais vaguement si le continent occidental n'apporterait pas aussi un jour sa part dans le grand travail scientifique qui s'opérait en Europe."

of the French Legation. He visited the ruins of ancient temples and cities in Mexico, and was diligent in searching after native histories and the records of the old Spanish writers. He was so fortunate as to find many—a list of which he has given in the preface to his work above referred to.* With particular joy he records the finding of two ancient Mexican books, to which he gave the names of Codex Chimalpopoca and the Memorial of Culhuacan, and which he describes as most precious documents relating to Mexican chronology.†

The eminent archæologist, M. Aubin, of Paris, who had collected a large number of manuscripts and histories relating to the antiquities of Mexico and Central America, visited those countries in 1830, and on his return to France published part of his researches in his *Memoire sur l' Ecriture figurative et la Peinture didactique des anciens Mexicains.* Brasseur de Bourbourg returned to Europe in 1832, and collated his researches with those of M. Aubin. He went back to Mexico in 1854, and visited Nicaragua and Guatemala, returning to Paris in 1856. In 1857 he published his great work, in which it is evident he had the assistance of M. Aubin; so that it may be considered their joint composition. They have most ingeniously made out not only a connected but a detailed history of the Mexicans; and if it be not altogether authentic it is at all events interesting. We gain from the perusal of it considerable light respecting this mysterious people.

That the original population of Central America and Mexico is of very high antiquity there can be little doubt. The traditions of the various nations by which these countries were peopled bear ample testimony to this. A still stronger argument is found in the number of languages spoken there at the time of their conquest by the Spaniards. Now, unless we suppose that by some miraculous operation these languages and dialects were brought suddenly into being, we can assign but two modes in which they could have come into existence; the one is by the immigration of foreigners, the other by the slow and gradual operation of the laws of Providence, which regulates the multiplication and distribution of the human race and the formation of languages.

* Introduction, pp. lxxiv—xci. † Introduction, p. xiii.

With regard to the first, there is no record of any considerable or varied migration from the Old World into the New, which could have sufficed to produce these dialects; moreover, the spoken languages of Central America bear no resemblance to any that were used by the trading and colonizing nations of ancient Europe, the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians, the Egyptians, the Greeks, and the Romans. It is however probable that enterprising individuals, of European origin, found their way across the Atlantic, being driven thither either by storms, or by currents, or by their own hardihood. From the Azores, or from the western coast of Africa, to Brazil, is not so very long a voyage; and there is the Gulf Stream to assist navigation in that direction, and to carry the sailor on to the West Indies and the Gulf of Mexico. We believe that the famous law-givers of ancient Mexican history, Votan and Zamna, of whom we shall say more presently, came from Europe, or at all events from Cuba, or South-America. And we find a people called the Othomis, who inhabited Mexico before the Toltecs, speaking a monosyllabic language strongly resembling the Chinese: they called it the Hiang-hiung, which signifies "the permanent speech." Their own name—Ot-ho-mi—signifies "never tranquil;" heaven they styled Ma-he-tzi; and God, O-kha, that is, "the holy remembrance."* They shaved their head after the Chinese fashion, leaving a tuft or tail at the back; and some of their customs show their Mongolian origin. It may be reasonably inferred that at a very remote period some Chinese navigators found their way across the Pacific to the western shores of this continent; as it may also be supposed that the red men of Asia crossed Behring's Strait into Alaska, and became the progenitors of our red Indians; or *vice versa*, the population of Asia may have been derived from this continent. It is a remarkable fact that the Northmen, when they visited our eastern shores at the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian Era, met with an Irishman, who had lived many years among the natives, and was able to interpret their language; and they also

* De Bourbourg, *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i., p. 157.

were told that further south existed a white race of foreigners.* These must have found their way across the Atlantic at some remote period. Still, allowing for all possible immigration from European or Asiatic sources, there is not enough to account for the great variety of dialects found among the nations of Central America. We must therefore fall back on the second mode, namely, the slow and gradual operation of the laws of Providence; and this at once carries us to remote antiquity, going back from the era of the Spanish conquest, (A.D. 1519–21.)

When the Spaniards invaded the continent, they found a great number of languages in use; but some of them could be traced to a common origin. Thus Ximenes tells us that there was an idiom, called the Maya, from which he could distinctly derive more than thirteen languages.† So that the same laws which have regulated the derivation of the European and some of the Asiatic languages from the Indo-Germanic or Aryan stock, prevailed in Central America. We have no intention of entering into a discussion of the characteristics of these ancient Central American languages. It is sufficient for our purpose to adduce their existence as a proof of the remote antiquity of the people who spoke them; we leave it to professional ethnologists, philologists, and grammarians to say within what period a language can be formed. We have the example of the English tongue before us; and we know that it is the most modern of all languages, being the only one that has never been otherwise than Christian. We may say that it is not more than six hundred years old. But this would be only a portion of the truth, for it is mainly derived from a language which was spoken in the north of Germany a thousand years previously, and had its roots from another language which was spoken in the north of Hindustan three thousand years before that! Thus more than four thousand years were required to form our mother tongue, which is purely a derivative one. How long a period was required to form the Sanscrit? We think the ar-

* *Antiquitates Americanæ.* Discovery of America in the tenth century, pp. xxxvii. Hafniæ. 1837.

† *Tesoro de las Lenguas.*

gument based upon the number of languages is an unanswerable one.

Now let us turn to the traditions prevalent among the ancient inhabitants of Central America: these are sure indications of the character of the people and of the leading events of their history, which thus indelibly stamped themselves upon the national mind and memory, though the accounts we have of them may be mixed up with much that is fabulous and absurd, as is the case with the legendary history of Greece and Rome. Like all other countries of antiquity, Central America—by which name let it be understood that we include all that portion of the continent lying between Texas and the Isthmus of Panama—had its giants. This race of beings were called Quinamièş, and their dominion extended over Mexico and Guatemala. Whether they formed an organized community or were merely wandering savages of vast size and strength, living in caves and woods, we are not told; but they are described as having been a brutal race, addicted to the grossest vices; subsequently they became partly civilized by a race called Olmecs and Xicalancas, by whom they were finally exterminated at a solemn festival held on the plateau of Huitzilapan. A few escaped, but their descendants were destroyed by the Toltecs some centuries afterward. The only reminiscence of them left was the name of one of their divinities, Tlaloc, (or Tlalotl,) who had been one of their great kings.

We have a parallel to this tradition in the Greek myth of Saturn and the Titans, upon whom Jupiter made war successfully, finally casting them into Tartarus. The name Votan is another frequently met with, especially in the ancient traditions of the Tzendals, a race inhabiting Guatemala. According to them, Votan was a divine being who introduced civilization among their barbarous ancestors, and founded the cities of Palenquè, Paxil, and Cayala, and those famous temples and palaces whose magnificent ruins astonish the beholder at this day There is good reason to suppose that this Votan was a real personage, who was by popular acclamation subsequently elevated to the rank of a God and made a mediator between the Supreme Being and man; but it is impossible to decide whether all the attributes and actions ascribed to him are his, or are due to

others. In the Quichè and the Mexican traditions we find similar powers and exploits attributed to demigods named respectively Cukulcan and Gucumatz or Quetzalcohuatl: so that it is not improbable that these personages are identical with Votan. According to the Tzendal tradition, the banks of the Tabasco and of the Uzumacinta, two rivers flowing into the gulf of Mexico from the Cordilleras of Guatemala, were the scenes of the wondrous works of Votan. There he began his labors among the savage population of that land, of whom the Lacandons are the descendants. He taught them many arts, and founded the cities and built the edifices before mentioned. The tradition further says that he came originally from Cuba, with a number of his countrymen; that he first explored the thousand islands of the lagune of Terminos, and then ascended the Uzumacinta to the foot of the Tumbala mountains, and there settled on its banks. On that spot he founded the city of Nachan, afterward called Palenquè. He was welcomed by the Tzendals and became their ruler.

If the tradition is to be further trusted, the art of navigation must have been more advanced at that early period than is commonly supposed; for we are told that he four times visited his native land, (Cuba.) He was not only a good sailor and explorer, as well as ruler and legislator, but he was an author and an antiquary, which is more than can be said of Saturn, Jupiter, or Hercules. He wrote a treatise on the origin of what we erroneously call the Indian race, and proved that it descended from Imos, of the race of Chan, that is, the serpent, and came originally from Chivim. That "the trail of the serpent is over us all," it needed not the poet Moore to inform us; but Votan went a step further and made out that these Indians were his (the serpent's) offspring: he may have meant this, however, merely as a bitter satire, but, as his treatise has not come down to us, we are unable to decide the point. Nevertheless, it is singular that the serpent should appear in the legend in conjunction with the Hebrew word *Chivim* or *Hivim*, (signifying "the wicked.") The Spanish historian Ordoñez* unhesitatingly says that

* *Historia del Cielo y de la Tierra.*

this *Chivim* is no other than the land of the Hivites, who were the children of Canaan, (Gen. x. 17.) Be that as it may, the acts of Votan as a ruler or conqueror bore permanent fruit. He divided his empire into four parts, one of which he gave to the foreign chieftains who accompanied him: their capital was Tulha, the ruins of which have been found near Ococinco, on the other side of the Tumbala mountains. There is a further tradition in that part of the world that Votan caused a subterranean road of prodigious length to be made under these mountains in order to connect the temple of Tulha with that of Palenquè. As to the era of Votan there is nothing to guide us, but all tradition refers it to a very remote period. His descendants sank into insignificance, and after the lapse of several centuries succumbed to the Toltecs. The last of them, Chinax, was hanged and burned by the Toltec leader, about A.D. 687.

Contemporary with Votan was another great leader and lawgiver, named Zamna, (or Itzamal,) who arrived from some distant country in Yucatan, accompanied by a number of priests, warriors, and artists. There he founded a kingdom, and built the city of Mayapan for his capital. He divided his territory into provinces, which he granted as hereditary fiefs to the principal chiefs who accompanied him, but made them subordinate to the reigning prince of Mayapan. It is said that he introduced the use of figures or characters for letters. He died at an advanced age, and was buried at the place where subsequently arose the city Itzmal-Ul, or Itzamal. In subsequent ages he was held in equal veneration with Votan. And with these meagre particulars respecting him we are obliged to be content. Not all the researches of Aubin, De Bourbourg, Las Casas, Lizana, Gomara, Solis, Herrera, Clavigero, Juarres, Cabrera, Ordoñez, Garcia, and Cogolludo, have been sufficient to unearth any more of the long-buried past.

The same mystery envelops the history of the early inhabitants of this continent as that of Asia and Europe. The names of the families, tribes, or nations into which they were divided, and those of their principal chieftains and lawgivers, and of their cities, are all that has been handed down to us, and we are left to our own ingenuity and learning to make out of the Mexican hieroglyphics and local traditions a connected and intelligible

series of events. One of the most ancient of the Central American tribes was that of the Totonacs, who were contemporary with the Olmecs, the exterminators of the giants. This people claimed to have been the first who settled in the valley of Anahuac, and to have built the great pyramids of Teotihuacan. They came from Chicomoztoc, and some of them settled in Xalpan, others near Lake Xaltocan. The fact of their having a propensity for building pyramids and using hieroglyphics points to an Egyptian origin. Their first and greatest chieftain, who appears to have exercised the functions of a high priest as well as of a king, was Omeacatl. Their histories speak with emphasis of the length of his reign, of the order and civilization which he introduced among his subjects, and of the justice and peace which they enjoyed under his government. They also make mention of a great famine which desolated all the provinces of his kingdom, and of a pestilence which followed the famine and destroyed multitudes of people. Omeacatl ceased reigning at a very advanced age. His death was a singular one; he entered a large oven heated by an adjoining furnace, and used as a vapor-bath and was never seen again. This mysterious disappearance was regarded as miraculous; but we, who are more prosaic, can imagine that he was overpowered by the heat and suffocated, and that his body was literally baked into an undistinguishable mass of mortal clay. We may, however, note here that this very ancient people appear to have known how to make furnaces and ovens, and to use vapor baths, which involves a previous knowledge of medicine, and of some of the handicrafts connected with iron and pottery; so that they could not have been an entirely barbarous race.

The Mexicans had a complete system of hieroglyphics, many of which have been deciphered, thanks to the labors of the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg, M. Aubin, and others. Had the ruins of their temples been less defaced by time and the ferocity of their Spanish destroyers, it might have been possible to obtain from the inscriptions on their walls and columns as complete an insight into their history as has been obtained into that of Egypt through the researches of Champollion and Dr. Young, and their successors, and into that of Assyria

through the labors of Rawlinson, Layard, and Hinckes. The distinguished French *savants* above mentioned also discovered many documents of the ancient Mexicans, consisting mostly of chronicles recording events and the dates of their occurrence. To these are sometimes added the remains of oral traditions or historic songs. It was the custom of the Mexicans to learn these by heart, and to recite them in public; they were taught in their schools and colleges for the training of orators. M. De Bourbourg gives several specimens of these songs or harangues: they are very flowery in their style, and are more in the nature of rhapsodies than historical compositions. As authorities for history we should not be inclined to place much value upon them. M. Aubin is of opinion that those harangues (or *tlatolli*) so frequently recited in modern times by the native Indians of Mexico, are the remains of these ancient orations; and that this origin is sufficiently indicated by extreme conformity to the literal language, the modern dialects of which seldom preserve more than a third of the words, and by the certainty that the dialogues are derived from ancient native compositions, dramatic or oratorical, adapted to Christian subjects by learned monks since the Spanish Conquest.*

Two leading facts are dwelt upon in the Mexican annals: the first is the arrival of a foreign race, coming from the East, and led by an illustrious personage; the second is the existence of an ancient empire known by the name of Huehue-Tlapallan, whence the ancestors of the Toltecs (or Nahuas) migrated in consequence of civil war, and after much suffering established themselves on the Aztec plateau. In Book 2, Chap. 2, of his elaborate work, M. De Bourbourg gives a detailed account of this foreign immigration from the East, founded on his interpretation of hieroglyphics and chronicles. That these details are anything more than subsequent adornments of an ancient tradition may well be doubted; but we think this much is clear and may be accepted as veritable history, namely, that, at a very remote period, a people called Quichès came from the northernmost part of Asia, (for their original habitation is described as a cold and icy region), and crossed a stormy sea

* De Bourbourg, *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, Introduction, p. xxxv.

to a region on the American continent not less inhospitable than the one they had quitted. This evidently points to a traversing of the strait since called Behring's, and to an emigration of some of the wild tribes who roam over the frozen plains of Siberia. When they landed in America, they turned their steps southward in quest of a warmer climate and fertile lands. Their march was slow and painful; they encountered terrible privations, but they pursued their journey in hopes of reaching a mystic spot called Teotihuacan, (the abode of God,) and their chiefs vowed that if they ever arrived there they would sacrifice one of their number to the Gods. Their leader was Quetzalcohuatl or Gucumcatz, who was afterward worshipped as their tutelar deity. Under his guidance they arrived in Tamoanchan, where he founded the city of Xicalanco, which became one of the most flourishing cities in Central America. He extended his influence into the neighboring empire of Xibalba or Palenquè, and attempted to conquer it, but failed.

There are sundry incongruities in this statement. What, for example, should a race of wandering Samoieds or Tchuktchi know about warm climates and fertile lands? Why should they be seized with a sudden desire to quit the country which they were born in and accustomed to? Why, if they wanted to go south, did they not find their way into China, instead of crossing a stormy sea to a continent they knew nothing of, and which, for aught they could tell, might have no warm climate or fertile soil? But, admitting that they had reasons for crossing over to America, is it credible that they should have successively passed through the territories now known as Alaska, British America, Washington, Oregon, Utah, California, New Mexico, Arizona, and Mexico, down as far south as Guatemala, without finding any locality to suit them? They must have been fastidious indeed. Not a place whereon to rest their weary feet throughout the fifty degrees of latitude they traversed! No pleasant spots in a track four thousand miles in length! Verily, they must have been hard to please.

Perhaps the reason why they continued marching so long was that they could find nobody to direct them to Teotihuacan; it may have been that they could not pronounce the word properly, and the natives were unable to understand them. It is some-

What extraordinary too, that Quetzalcohuatl should, with his barbarians, have acquired influence in a neighboring civilized empire; but this influence may have been one of fear; it is not pleasant to have a swarm of savages in one's vicinity. But let us go on to the close of the legend. The chiefs, having at length discovered the holy city, (which, apparently, was built for them by somebody else,) proceeded to fulfil their vow. Accordingly they chose Nanahuatl, one of their number, for a sacrifice to the gods: and he was burnt with his servant Metztli. Nanahuatl at the time was suffering from a loathsome disease, which became honored in consequence ever after! He and his servant did not vanish with the fire that consumed them, but reappeared as a bright sun and a moon in the heavens. M. De Bourbourg gives this portion of the legend an allegorical explanation, as well he may.* He tells us that it is an allegory of the rising and setting of the sun and moon; that it is spoken of with mysterious reverence, and that it installed a new period styled Nahul-Ollin (or "fourth movement") in astronomy, and sometimes called Ollin Tonatiuh (or "the sun in motion.") It coincides with the Mexican year I. Silex, and probably commences the era of the calendar of which the Toltec chiefs, Oxomoco and Cipactonal, were the authors. It was adopted by the Totonacs, and it probably gave rise to the erection of the two principal pyramids of Teotihuacan. The Mexicans observed several festivals in honor of this apotheosis of Nanahuatl and Metztli, and it gave rise to the horrid practice of offering up human sacrifices to the gods. The civilized Mexicans carried this to a fearful extent up to the last hour of their existence as a nation. The Spaniards ruthlessly trampled it out, and destroyed temples and priests alike. It is one of the few benefits their conquest of the country conferred upon it.

Our own impression with regard to this tradition of the migration of the Quichès, from Asia to America *via* Behring's Strait, is, that it embodies a most ancient historical fact, and points to the mode in which the Indian or red race first appeared on this continent. Their so-called "wearisome march" most likely occupied a very long period of time, probably hundreds of years, if not thousands. They spread slowly,

* *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i. pp. 181–184.

remaining in each locality successively occupied by them until they exhausted the supply of food which it yielded, and then removing to another. In this way, generation after generation would extend their range until the whole continent was explored, and in process of time "the abode of the gods" was discovered in Guatemala. We look upon Quetzalcohuatl as a mythic personage — pretty much like Hiawatha — who was subsequently created in order to give character and consistency to the narrative. A divinely inspired leader is always a very desirable person. If we could have one now, we should have great reason to rejoice. And the Quichès were right in making the most of the one who was vouchsafed to them, if he ever existed. His name, Quetzalcohuatl, (pronounced Ketzalwhotl,) appears frequently in the Mexican annals, sometimes as a hero on earth, sometimes as the god of war above. He even had a hand in the creation of men, according to the Mexican cosmogony, which we shall notice presently.

There is much more historic certainty about the second of the great facts on which the annals of Mexico dwell, namely, the existence of an ancient empire called Huehue Tlapallan, whence came the Toltecs. It was so powerful and extensive that its language, called the Nahuan, became predominant throughout Central America. It was in attempting to subvert this empire that Quetzalcohuatl met with his fatal repulse. After his retreat, the four leading chiefs, rejoicing in the euphonious names of Oxomoco, Cipactonal, Tlaltetecui, and Xuchicaoaca, convoked the assembly of the Nahuans, and established the new calendar before referred to for astrological as well as astronomical purposes, which calendar remained in use until the destruction of Mexico by the Spaniards. The first two chieftains possessed themselves of the empire, ruling, we presume, conjointly. Their sons gave them much trouble, insomuch that two of them had to be put to death; and a third set up an independent kingdom in the mountains of Quichè, of which the sacred city of Utlatlan became the capital. A series of revolutions took place in the government of the Nahuans or Toltecs, one military chief deposing another, pretty much in the same manner as the modern Mexicans are doing at the present day.

In short, revolution seems to be inherent in that volcanic soil; for we read of very little else in the chronicles which the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg has furnished us with. The only period of comparative tranquillity Mexico has ever enjoyed was under the rule of the Spanish viceroys. Among the Nahuan Toltecs such troubles arose that at last a considerable body of them fled to the shores of the Pacific and to Southern California, where they established several kingdoms. Others, again, turned toward Yucatan, where a branch of them called the Tutul-Xius established their dominion. The Toltecs were, in fact, broken up, as regarded their ancient empire, and henceforth their history parts into many streams. The era of this disruption or dispersion has been carefully preserved. It is the first precise date we meet with in the annals of Central America, and is fixed at the year 174 of the Christian era. After this event the chronology remains silent until the year 268, when a second exodus of the Tutul-Xius took place from Yucatan, but we are not told why they left that country, nor why they poured into Guatemala. They remained masters of the latter until subdued by the Chichimecs from Culhuacan under a chief named Mixcohuatl, in the year 686. The conquerors established the era of Tezcuco, commencing at this date, and from this time the rule of the Toltecs in Mexico, properly so called, begins.

Before we part company with the Tutul-Xius, however, we will notice same peculiar features distinguishing them from the other tribes. Their priests understood the art of setting fire to objects by directing upon them the sun's rays concentrated in a focus; we are told that when sacrifices were offered, they brought down the divine fire by the aid of a mirror and burnt the victims. One of their most distinguished chieftains, Kinieh-Kakmò, who was afterward deified, instituted an order of Virgins of the Sun, whose duty it was to keep the sacred fire perpetually burning. But they were not bound by such severe vows as the Roman vestals were, for no one could be compelled to become a "Virgin of the Sun." The vows were made for a limited time only; but if they were broken before the expiration of that time, or if the fire should became extinct, the offender was shot to death with arrows; and lastly, when the time had expired, the Virgins

might marry whom they pleased. Their lovers had merely to ask the consent of the chief priest, which he was expected to give as a matter of course. When the Tutul-Xius went to battle, they dressed up the image of their war-god in royal robes and ornaments, and it was borne before the soldiers by the four most valiant captains in the army. This god appears to have been possessed of but little influence, for he did not, or could not, prevent their meeting with disastrous defeats and finally being expelled from their country. They settled near Vera Cruz, and in remote parts of Yucatan and Guatemala. The king of Mayapan granted them possessions in Chichen-Itza and in his own immediate kingdom, where they became faithful feudatories. There they founded the city of Mani, which in a few years became one of their most important settlements. They also founded the city of Tihoò on the site whereon the Spaniards subsequently built Merida, the present capital of Yucatan. In the midst of the city was an artificial mound of vast extent, whereon was erected a temple equal in magnificence to any in Itzamal. It was surrounded by delightful groves. The Spaniards were amazed at its splendor and at the beauty of the edifices in Tihoò. The historian Cogolludo* gives the following extract from a letter to Philip II. on this subject: "The city (Tihoò or Merida) is thirty leagues in the interior. It is called Merida. It received this name on account of the magnificent edifices which it contains; for throughout the entire extent of the country which we have discovered in the Indies, we have found none so beautiful. They are well built of stones of an immense size. We know not who erected them. It appears that they must have been built before the birth of Jesus Christ, for there were trees above as tall as those which grew below at the foot. These buildings are five toises (32 feet) in height, and are made of hard stone. At the summit of these edifices are four apartments, divided into cells like those of monks, twenty feet long and ten feet broad; the jambs of the doors are of one block, and the ceiling is vaulted. The monks have established a convent of St. Francis in the edifices situated in the part we

* *Historia de Yucatan*, lib. iii. cap. 11.

have discovered. It is right that that which has served for the worship of the devil should be transformed into a temple for the service of God. It is in this sanctuary that we have celebrated the first mass that has been heard in this country."

Our estimate of the magnificence of these temples is somewhat diminished by this letter of Cogolludo's, however; for if they were not more than thirty-two feet in height, they were not more imposing than a very moderate-sized house in one of our cities. Perhaps it was the length and extent of them that so astonished the Spaniards, whose enthusiasm has sometimes been unduly participated in by the learned abbé.

We have spoken of the subjugation of the Tutul-Xius by the Chichimecs. The details of the struggle afford one more proof—if such were needed—of the folly of invoking the aid of foreigners to quell intestine broils. The narrative reminds us of the case of the Britons who invited the Saxons into England to protect them from the Picts. It seems that the priesthood of the Tutul-Xius asserted their right to interfere in the administration of public affairs, and this caused so much irritation among the people that they threatened to get rid of these troublesome ministers of religion. Thereupon the latter invited into the country, in order to protect them, a fierce tribe of the Toltecs, called the Mixcohuas, granting them license to hunt and dwell there. These savages soon became the terror of the land, and the priests, alarmed, invoked the aid of a tribe of the Chichimecs, offering them rewards if they would exterminate the aggressors. A battle ensued which resulted in the submission of the Mixcohuas, who subsequently blended with their victors. There is a striking analogy between this portion of Mexican history and that of England after the battle of Hastings. The conquered Saxons blended with their Norman conquerors, whom the Chichimecs strongly resembled in other points.

M. De Bourbourg* tells us that all the traditions in the Nahuatl language invariably give the name of "Chichimecs" to the nations or tribes who invaded the soil, whatever may have been their distinctive characteristics.

* *Mexique et l'Amérique Centrale*, vol. i. p. 193.

So all those swarms of pirates that issued from the shores of the Baltic were indiscriminately called Northmen or Normans, though their armies which overran England and France were composed of Russians, Livonians, Finns, Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, Wends, Holsteiners, and Saxons. Like the Normans, too, the Chichimecs considered the name thus given to them a title of nobility instead of contempt. They gloried in conquering other countries, where they came to hunt the game, and take up their abode on whatever spot pleased them, ruthlessly expelling or exterminating the natives. And again, like the Norman in England, the Chichimec, even after long years of residence among the native inhabitants, often refused to mix his blood with theirs, for fear of spoiling its purity; hence that nobility of which he was so proud, and which was held in such high esteem in later ages by the population of the Aztec plateau. What is this but that same haughty aristocratic feeling which is still existing among the descendants of the Normans in England, the German nobles with their sixteen quarterings, and the Spanish grandees with their *sangre azul?*

History and tradition are both silent as to the destinies of the original Nahuas. They probably merged into the Toltecs, whose chief city was that Teotihuacan which the Quichès long ages before had crossed over from Siberia to find. Up to the moment of the arrival of the Toltec tribes on the Aztec plateau we meet with nothing but dates and names, more or less obscure, indicating their march across the countries which lie between Chicomoztoc and the Aztec plateau. M. De Bourbourg, however, has rescued from oblivion some few particulars, gleaned from hieroglyphics and native traditions, which possess historical interest, and around which he endeavors to throw a poetical garb. We are told that after the conquest of the Mixcohuas by the Chichimecs, fresh accessions of warriors joined their ranks. Among these were Xiuhnel and Mimich, two famous heroes of ancient legends still preserved in Mexico, and given in the learned abbé's work.* The fate of one of these heroes reminds us of that of Holofernes after being en—

* Vol. i. p. 202.

tertained by Judith. He was drawn into a snare by siren voices, and visited by a foreign woman or enchantress, who killed him while he slept. The other with his arrows slew the enchantress, who, it seems, rejoiced in the name of Itzpapalotl. After this exploit he raised a funeral pile, on which he burnt her body; but, while burning, it underwent five transformations, and was finally converted into white flint. At the moment when this last transformation took place, Mixcohuatl, the most renowned of all the ancient Chichimec heroes, arrived. He wrapped the remains of the body in precious cloth, and carried them to Comatlan, an ancient city not far from the eastern shore of Lake Tenochtitlan, and north of Tezcuco. A piece of this body, called "the talisman of the white flint," was one of the relics found in the temple of Mixcohuatl at Cuitlahuac, which Montezuma the First removed to Mexico, in the fifteenth century. The advent of Mixcohuatl and the establishment of the era of Tezcuco have been before referred to. From this period the history of the Chichimecs in Mexico becomes less obscure. They received the appellation of Toltecs, the origin of which name is uncertain, some writers deriving it from the city of Tollan, others from the Mexican word *tolla*, signifying an osier. Tollan, however, was the name which they themselves gave to the ancient city of Mamheni, when they took it, after a six years' siege, (A.D. 724;) so that it seems unlikely they should have changed their own name thereupon to that of the conquered city.

The Toltecs rapidly extended their empire. Their government was a singular one before the establishment of their monarchy. They divided themselves into seven tribes; at the head of each was the Pilli or hereditary chief. These seven chiefs directed the councils of the nation, and were its generals and priests; one of them, named Huéman, was a venerable sage, whose name frequently appears in their annals. This form of government was found to work badly, and by the advice of Huéman the Toltec chiefs abdicated, and sent an embassy to the king of the Chichimecs of Huehue Tlapallan to solicit him for one of his sons to become their ruler. The king acceded to their request and sent his second son, Chalchiuh-Tlatonac, who thus became the founder of the Toltec monarchy. Hué-

man is said to have been the author of the sacred book "Teo-Amoxtli," compiled by him in an assembly of sages and astrologers under the presidency of the second king of Tollan. This book has been lost; it was probably a collection of the laws, and a compendium of the sciences which prevailed among the Toltecs. Their priests were the principal cultivators of the latter, and at one time were the only learned persons in the nation. From the moment of their arrival on the Aztec plateau the Toltecs commenced building temples and offering sacrifices to their deities, with a pomp and ceremony unknown to the ancient inhabitants. They introduced numberless superstitions among the latter. And they were actuated by a tyrannical spirit of proselyting, forcing all the races whom they conquered to embrace the religion of the conquerors. Their kings assumed spiritual as well as regal authority, and pretended to be gods; they maintained their supremacy by a system of terror. The offering up of human sacrifices was one of the darkest features of their religion; captives taken in war were almost always got rid of in this manner; but criminals and paupers were also disposed of in the same way; and on very grave occasions, such as a pestilence, an earthquake, or a foreign invasion, the victims were selected from the aristocratic classes. Huge fires were made of logs of wood prepared for the purpose; and troops of young men, dressed in a fantastic and monstrous manner, pretending to be the companions of the gods, danced around the flames, throwing into them from time to time, one after another, the miserable creatures. Can we wonder that the vengeance of heaven fell at last upon this blood-stained race?

The ordinary Mexican chronology commences at the year 726, at which period the Toltec monarchy was fully established. In the course of a century it became the most powerful kingdom in Central America. Anahuac, Quantitlan, of Huitzilipan, and Tlaxcallan (called by the Spaniards Tlascala) were annexed to it, and the cities of Chalchihuapan, Calipan, and Huexotzinco were founded. The great king Mixcohuatl-Camaxtli, who achieved these results, was buried in the temple at Cuitlahuac, and for centuries devotees came from all parts of the empire to visit his tomb; he was invoked as one

of the gods of war, and religious festivals were instituted in his honor. He reigned sixty years over the Toltecs, and died A.D. 817. There were Amazons in those days, quite as valiant in war as Hippolyta and Penthesilea, and more successful; for we are told that under the leadership of their queen, Chimalman, they defeated the Toltecs several times. Queen Chimalman, however, was taken prisoner at last, and the Toltec king persuaded her to change her name and give him her hand. She became the mother of the most renowned of all the Toltec monarchs, warriors, and legislators, Quetzalcohuatl, who has sometimes been confounded with, but was a different person from, that other celebrity of the same name who, hundreds of years previously, led the Quichès from Siberia to Guatemala. It is rather singular that the same confusion exists with regard to other great mythical chieftains. Thus, in the history of Persia mention is made of two Zoroasters, to both of whom is ascribed the introduction of fire-worship; one of these lived in the reign of Darius Hystaspes, (B.C. 521–486;) the other, it is said, preceded him two thousand years. In the history of Scandinavia there are two Odins, both of them deified, and represented as leading a considerable body of emigrants from the northern shores of the Black Sea, through Russia into the north of Europe, and establishing a kingdom in Sweden. The first is probably a real personage and lived in the first century before the Christian era. The second, who is probably a myth, flourished about sixteen hundred years before him. In the history of Assyria, Semiramis, the great queen and warrior, plays a prominent part; yet historians are not agreed as to the epoch of her existence; Helvieus placing it B.C. 2248; Syncellus, B.C. 2177; Eusebius, B.C. 1984; Usher, B.C. 1215; and Herodotus, B.C. 713! There must surely have been more than one queen Semiramis. So we need not be surprised at finding two Quetzalcohuatls in Mexican history, and both deified as the god of war. The latter one, however, had the advantage of being brought up by his aunt, Cohuatl, because his mother died four days after his birth. This aunt was priestess of the temple of Quilatzli; and, because she had no children, was subsequently worshipped as the goddess of childbirth! *Lucus a non lucendo;* we might rather say, *Lucina*

a non lucendo; she is represented as carrying two children in her arms.

The personal history of this second Quetzalcohuatl is as remarkable as that of the first. He was born A.D. 839, and brought up as just mentioned. When he was eight years old, his father was murdered by three of the leading chiefs. The boy was saved by a band of attendants called "the sacred companions," who carried him off, and concealed him until he was old enough to avenge his father's murder. Eight years afterward he secretly dug a mine leading to the great temple of Cuitlahuac, where he surprised and slew the murderers. He caused his father's remains to be buried with great ceremony, and then disappeared for more than fifteen years.

Every scholar will be struck with the resemblance of this story to that of Orestes, who was eight years old when his father, Agamemnon, was murdered, was saved and concealed by his nurse, until eight years more had elapsed, when he returned to Mycenæ, surprised and slew the murderers, and then went away on a pilgrimage of atonement! We are tempted to ask whether, in filling up these particulars in the life of their Mexican hero, Messrs. De Bourbourg and Aubin were not a little aided by their classical reminiscences. They have not, however, given him a Pylades, but they have made him turn his pilgrimage to better account than Orestes did his; for he returned to Mexico with a number of followers of foreign extraction, accomplished in a variety of arts, sciences, and systems of philosophy unknown to the Toltecs. Where could he have been? Peru, perhaps, or China, or Japan. His learning and his noble appearance excited universal admiration. He landed at Penuco, whence it may be inferred that he had visited Cuba. Having crossed the plains of the Cuextlan, he built a stone bridge over that river, (A.D. 870,) which was standing in the time of the Spaniards. He reached Tollantzinco, where, aided by "the sacred companions," he spread the doctrines he had learned abroad. Here is ground for speculation. These doctrines are described by M. De Bourbourg as being a mixture of pantheism and idolatry, *similar to those of the Hindoos.**

* Vol. i. p. 256.

Had he been to India? If so, he must have gone and returned by sea, though why, in such case, he should turn up on the Atlantic side of Mexico instead of the Pacific is a mystery. If he had really visited Asia or Europe, how passing strange it is that no trace of the visit of this illustrious and royal traveller should be found in the history of any nation of the Old World! Can it be that the whole story is an invention of — no matter who? The death of the reigning king happened opportunely three years after the return of Quetzalcohuatl, (A.D. 873,) whom the people raised to the throne by acclamation. He devoted himself to beautifying the city of Tollan, and to the suppression of the practice of offering human sacrifices. He had evidently learnt humanity in his travels. He also, says the historian, founded monasteries and an order of recluses. He may have taken a hint from the Nestorians whom he met with in China, or from the Christians of St. Thomas, whom he saw in India. But these "reforms" excited the hostility of the priests, who got up a revolt. To avoid bloodshed, he resigned the throne, amid the lamentations of his subjects, and retired to the city of Huitzilapan, (A.D. 895.) There he made his beneficent presence felt. Temples and public works were constructed under his direction, and the famous city of Cholullan was founded. But his enemies followed him with a powerful army, carrying fire and sword with them. Then he appeared in a new character — that of a coward—for, in spite of the remonstrances of his new subjects, who offered to stand by him to the last, he fled to Cuetlahtlan, (now Cotasta, in Vera Cruz,) where he embarked on board a ship, went to sea, and was never heard of again. It must be confessed that this was an ignominious exit for a hero. His illustrious contemporaries, Alfred the Great, Charlemagne, and Haroun Al Raschid, encountered dangers as great as those which threatened him, but came out of their trials very differently.

Huémac, who had driven away Quetzalcohuatl, destroyed Cholullan, but was so charmed with the beauty of the site that he rebuilt and beautified the city and took up his abode there. He set up his own statue in all the temples and ordered that it should be worshipped. Thousands of human victims were

offered up to the new deity. But his career came to an untimely end; for his subjects at Tollan revolted and proclaimed another king. And Huémac, having met his foes near Lake Tezcuco, was miserably defeated: his army was cut to pieces, and he disappeared and was never seen again, (A.D. 930.) His fanatical followers, thinking this disappearance miraculous, worshipped him as the vivifier of all things!

The victor, Nauhystl, became master of the entire empire and in order to immortalize his name, he erected a temple to the goddess of Frogs, who soon became one of the most popular of the Toltec deities, and an order of priests was instituted to serve her. To the same epoch may be referred the institution of the expiatory feasts of Camaxtli, whereat the captives taken in war were sacrificed to that god. The worship of Tlaloc, god of the waters, also came into vogue: to him were sacrificed every year, at seed-time, a boy and a girl of four years old, who were to be children of the highest nobles; and, when the harvest ripened, four children of a riper age were also sacrificed by being left to perish in an obscure cavern, without light or food.

It would be wearisome to trace the history of the revolts, usurpations, civil wars, and crimes which fill the greater portion of the century following the victory at Tezcuco. Suffice it to say tha t under the administration of licentious rulers, the affairs of the nation ultimately fell into irretrievable confusion. Civil war broke out, and to its horrors were added a desolating pestilence and a famine which swept off thousands of the miserable people. All sorts of evils devastated the land; but the greatest of all was the sudden appearance of an immense horde of savages from Texas, California, and New-Mexico, the ancestors of the Apaches and Camanches of the present day. They ravaged the north and north-east of the empire; then they descended like a torrent on the plains of the Anahuac. The Toltecs resolved to abandon their country, and those who escaped from the murderous savages fled to Nicaragua, Costa Rica, Yucatan, and Honduras, where they founded kingdoms. But their delightful abodes on the plains of Anahuac were utterly destroyed; their great cities of Tollan, Testihuacan, Culhuacan, Atompan, and others equally famous were reduced to heaps

of ruins, and the country was made a wilderness. And thus ended the Toltec empire, (A.D. 1070.)

A large portion of M. De Bourbourg's work is devoted to tracing the fortunes of the exiled Toltecs, whose ruined cities have been so graphically described by Stephens in his *Incidents of Travel in Yucatan.* But we shall confine ourselves to the history of Mexico, which occupies the concluding portion of the work. After the devastation of the territories which formed the ancient Toltec empire, those savages who had achieved it were in their turn pressed upon by others from the north. A great emigration to the south had set in, the cause of which is unknown, and has excited much speculation. It is now that, for the first time, we hear of the Mexicans, or Mexicas, a name derived from one of their earliest chiefs, Mexitl. They were an Aztec tribe, who quitted their native country, Aztlan, about the year 1090, and after some years of wandering, rested at Chicomoztoc, (A.D. 1116,) where reigned a powerful prince named Mateuczomatzin, (transformed by the Spaniards into the more euphonious and easily remembered name of Montezuma.) They abode eleven years at Chicomoztoc; thence they sojourned successively at Acahualtzinco, (now San Juan del Rio,) Coatepec, Tepeyrac, and Chapultepec, where they fortified themselves. This pilgrimage lasted seventy years, (1116—1186.) But where was Aztlan? and who were the Aztecs? These questions cannot be answered with any degree of certainty. The Spanish missionaries among the Indians, in the sixteenth century, say that the name of Aztahan was given by the natives to the river Huaqui or Yaqui. In the ancient manuscripts this name is often confounded with Aztlan: sometimes the two are joined together. Sometimes Aztlan is combined with Chicomoztoc and represented as a very large city situated on an island, the abode of the ancestors of the Mexicans. It was in the dominions of Montezuma, where were two other great cities, Aztlan-Aztatlan and Teo-Culhuacan. In the regions between the Yaqui and the Colorado are found the imposing ruins known as "the great houses of Montezuma." Immense ruins bearing this title are found on the banks of the Gila, and here, doubtless, at a remote period, before the invasion of the Toltec empire in the

eleventh century, the Aztecs held sway. But why did they emigrate southward? This has hitherto remained a mystery.

Traces of a civilization similar to that of the Aztecs have been found much further north than Sonora. Gigantic monuments, tumuli, pyramids, and fortifications have been discovered near the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes of the North, and thence down the valley of the Mississippi to the gulf of Mexico. The Teo-Chichimecs, who invaded the Aztec plateau in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries, constructed defensive earth-works similar to those found in the north. This race appears to have consisted of a mixed population, a portion being addicted to living in large cities; another portion leading a wandering life; they were, in fact, partly civilized, partly savage. It further appears probable that they were expelled from their settlements near the Great Salt Lake in Utah, and the Canadian lakes, by a fierce race of northern savages, who had gradually driven before them all the civilized races, laying cities and villages in ruins, and whose descendants are at this day pursuing their remorseless mission in Sonora and Chihuahua. These tribes are now known as the Apaches and the Camanches. For more than a thousand years they have been pursuing their fell career, leaving the tracks of their devastating ferocity behind them. The tradition of their cruelty is still preserved in Kentucky, where the slaughter of the native tribes appears to have been so great as to have obtained for that state the name of "The dark and bloody ground."

It would be tedious as well as unprofitable to bestow much attention on the wars and contests for supremacy between the rival chiefs of the various tribes settled in the valley of Anahuac. Surrounded by powerful enemies, the Mexicans heroically held their ground and preserved their independence, thus showing that their race possessed extraordinary vitality. However, they came very near being entirely destroyed, in the year 1297, when the neighboring kings laid Chapultepec in ruins and carried off its population. But their valor found favor for them with the king of Culhuacan, who gave them the island of Tizaopan for their residence, (A.D. 1299,) on condition of their serving him in war. The next remarkable event in their history is the foundation of the city of Mexico, (A.D. 1325.) It

was occasioned by the cruelty of the Culhuan king, who drove the Mexicans out of his kingdom. They fled to Azcapotzalco, where they were received for a time, but subsequently were expelled. They then took refuge in Tenochtitlan, where they finally settled, and built the celebrated city which bears their name. Here they flourished, notwithstanding civil feuds occasioned by the encroachments of the priesthood. The people became divided into two parties, who brought great tribulation on each other; but a series of able though cruel princes finally consolidated them into one, and thus they were enabled to carry on sanguinary wars with their neighbors. They subjugated province after province, until, about the year 1500, their empire attained to the extent and wealth in which Cortez found it.

ART. V.—1. *An Historical Sketch of Columbia College in the City of New York.* By N. F. MOORE. 16mo, pp. 126. New York, 1846.

2. *Statutes of Columbia College and its Associated Schools; to which are added the Permanent Resolutions and Orders of the Board of Trustees.* 8vo, pp. 92. New York, 1866.

3. *Annual Report of the Treasurer of Columbia College, with the Report of the Managers of the Accumulating Fund.* 8vo. New York, 1868.

4. *Letter to the Hon. the Board of Trustees of the University of Mississippi.* By FREDRICK A. P. BARNARD, LL.D.

5. *Prof. Barnard on Collegiate Education and College Government.* 8vo, pp. 104. New York, 1855.

BEFORE doing ourselves the pleasure of indicating some of the very agreeable evidences of progress presented by Columbia College during the last two or three years, we beg leave to make a few observations which, although they may seem somewhat irrelevant at first sight, yet, when considered in their bearing on the different branches of our subject, will, we trust, be found not to do any serious violence to the unities so far as the latter are governed by reason, common sense, and a proper regard for the development of truth and the overthrow of its ancient foes, narrow-mindedness and prejudice.

We trust we need hardly remind our readers, at the close of our eighteenth volume, that to no object have our editorial labors been more earnestly devoted than to the elevation of the standard of education in our colleges, and we think it is equally superfluous to remind them that in giving our impressions of the institutions of our various religious sects, none have acted in more full accordance with the maxim of the Tyrian queen. At no time were we so sanguine as to expect that we could please all; we were quite as well aware ten years ago as we are now that none ever did so who attempted to point out defects as well as merits.

Far from feeling any regret, however, after an experience of nine years we have many reasons for congratulation. In at least nineteen cases out of twenty we have been treated in the most courteous and cordial manner by chancellors of universities, presidents of colleges, and principals of seminaries, male and female. In this proportion those various institutions have cheerfully offered us every facility to enable us to form an opinion of their respective systems of education. Nor have they evinced any wrath toward us on being criticised; or been prevented by our criticisms from again furnishing us any facilities we required. We need hardly say that it is the most accomplished educators who have evinced the most cordial willingness to be thus communicative; in other words, those who are at the heads of institutions that perform faithfully the work they undertake—those who are qualified for their positions—have no dread of criticism; indeed, they are much more likely to invite free expressions of opinion, as we can testify from experience.

Even the most timid and retiring female educators, when conscious of their ability and of the fidelity with which they perform their work, are quite willing that any one who conducts himself properly may enter their seminaries, and give such opinions of their systems of instruction as he may think fair. Some think that the educators, male and female, of one sect are more willing to submit the results of their efforts to criticism than those of another; but we can truly say that among the competent class we have not observed the slightest difference in this respect. We have found the accomplished

Catholic instructor just as willing to have the work he performs for the public put to the test as the Protestant instructor. Proverbial as the nuns are in all parts of the world for their retiring habits, those of them engaged in education, and qualified for their positions, have the good sense to understand that those whom they expect to send them their children should have an opportunity of deriving what aid they can from the opinions of others in forming an estimate of the instructions their children are to receive. Accordingly, many of those estimable ladies, while fully aware of our not being a Catholic, have done us the honor, not only of expressing their cheerful willingness that we should visit their institutions whenever we felt disposed, but of cordially inviting us and urging us to go, without any request on our part; and in those instances in which we have availed ourselves of the privilege we have been most courteously afforded every facility to form a correct opinion of their schools. If we have ever abused this privilege, we ask when or where?

Nor have we had any different experience of those respectable seminaries or schools for young ladies, whether in city or country, which are in charge of competent laymen or clergymen of any denomination. Thus, for example, the Rev. Dr. Van Norman, principal of a first-class female institute in this city, has proved more than once that he had no apprehension that we would do any injustice to himself, his corps of instructors, or his students. His chief reason was, that he felt conscious of having done his work well; and it afforded us pleasure to testify how well-founded and honest that consciousness was. We felt bound to inform our readers after our last visit that, apart from other agreeable evidences of high culture, it had never been our privilege to have heard interesting passages in the Æneid of Virgil more elegantly or more correctly translated than by the young ladies of Dr. Van Norman's own class.* We have been honored with similar invitations by the president of the Rutgers Female College, and by the lady principals of the Ferris Female Institute.

These remarks have been suggested to us by a somewhat re-

* *Vide* N. Q. R., for March, 1868, pp. 391–393.

markable contrast which we have lately observed. On a certain day, some weeks ago, we wrote two notes, one addressed to the Rev. Dr. Barnard, S.T.D., president of Columbia College; the other to the Rev. Father Shea, S.J., president of Fordham College. The purport of one was exactly the same as that of the other—a request to be allowed the privilege of being present at some of the recitations of the students, as we wished to have something to say in our next number on one or more of our local institutions. This was nothing new on our part; it was in accordance with the promise we made in the first prospectus we ever issued, as may be seen from the following paragraph which we copy from it:

"Education in every form, including art and science, will receive prominent and friendly attention; and whatever seems calculated to retard or vitiate it, whether under the name of a text-book, a painting, a seminary, a gallery, or a college, will be subjected to fearless but fair and temperate criticism."

Personally, both gentlemen were equally unknown to us. We had not long to wait for the reply of Dr. Barnard, which was all we could have desired, and all that should have been expected from an experienced and accomplished educator; but to this day Father Shea has not deigned even to acknowledge the receipt of our communication. We are not in the least offended at this, but speak of it in perfect good humor, *sine ullo maleficio;* if we have any feeling in regard to it, it is one of pity.

Perhaps it is natural enough that, in certain cases, those who are criticised—no matter how mildly the thing has been done—should think, or at least pretend to think, that the critic has been actuated by some wicked motive or other. Well, it may be remembered that we once ventured to express the opinion that if the good professors of Fordham paid less attention to billiards and other gaming apparatus, and more to books, those who send them their sons to be educated might have more reason to thank them. We had also been once guilty of visiting the college *incognito;* but there were extenuating circumstances in our case. We went without saying anything about reviews or any other publications, because we were informed that nobody

known to be in the habit of publishing his opinions would be allowed to see the curiosities of that institution, without being armed with a document, from some orthodox person, certifying that there would be nothing but praise—and that in the superlative degree. We were assured that even to hint that there was any other college superior, or even equal, to Fordham was an unpardonable offence, and we did not relish the notion of asking any one to certify for us that we would stultify ourselves in this manner.

It is due to Father Shea, who, we doubt not, is a good clergyman, that we should confess these little matters, but we think he should have remembered in our favor that even when we did visit his college *incognito* we gave the institution full time to improve its reputation before we published one word on the subject. At least twelve months had elapsed from the day of our visit before we even alluded to the facts which we learned from it; although we admit that the chief reason of our reticence was that it seemed almost a pity to blame pious, well-meaning men for not doing what it was evident they were utterly incapable of. This faculty, thought we, may have superior faculties for sending people to heaven; but their faculties for teaching even the ordinary branches of education are very slender indeed, although it is fair to say that we met with two exceptions to the general barrenness—one was the professor of music, the other the champion billiard-player. Both these gentlemen seemed highly accomplished, and we have since been informed by much more competent judges than ourselves that they have few if any rivals in their respective spheres among the numerous professors of American colleges.

It was in vain we assured Father Shea that we would do no injury either to student or professor from the time we entered the college until we left it; to this we added that we were very willing to believe that he had made important improvements in the college, as somebody had lately affirmed; and that it would afford us pleasure to estimate those improvements at their full value. But all would not do; it seems the good father was reminded of the fable of the fox and the goose!

St. Xavier's College in this city has not quite so great a

horror of criticism as Fordham. Father Loyzance, the president of the former, is more polite as well as less timid than Father Shea. It is true that he also seems unwilling that his students should be seen at their ordinary recitations by a journalist who might possibly criticise their intelligence, but he has no objection that those selected and drilled for the purpose may be seen at their semi-annual exhibitions. We have been favored with tickets of admission to several of these, including the last. On two or three occasions we have gone, accordingly, hoping that each succeeding exhibition would exhibit an improvement, nor did we forget to attend the recent one; but we realized, once more, that the path of knowledge is both steep and thorny, especially where there is not much of it to be found!

We really have no disposition to find fault, but those exhibitions have always seemed to us very much like boyish theatricals. Judging from the large crowds that attend them and the manner in which they behave themselves, a considerable proportion of the public—especially that part known as our "help"—must regard them as having some connection with the theatre. That ladies and gentlemen of the highest respectability and intelligence are present on those occasions, far be it from us to deny; but for one of this class there are at least fifty who have no conceivable business in such a place* except it be regarded as their business to crowd every seat, and, apparently, vie with each other in making all the noise they can with hand and foot as well as tongue, in and out of season. As if for the especial entertainment of this highly enthusiastic and appreciative class, Daniel O'Connell and George Washington, St. Patrick and Pope Pius, "Garryowen" and "Hail Columbia," are jumbled together in a manner which, we fear, must make both saints and angels weep; for whenever one of them is mentioned the "help" seem to think that, in order to show how fully they understand everything, how highly they value education, religion, liberty, etc., they must pound away at the floor until they are tired!

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* Genus hominum atque mulierum agresté, sine moribus, quod exhalit odorem saponisque patinarum, sed quod multa fide imbutum est.

It will not do to say that we criticise these two colleges because we are opposed to the Jesuits or to the Catholic church; as well might it be pretended that, because one points out a decayed or stunted branch in the oak which has flourished for ages, he condemns or seeks to degrade the king of the forest! Every intelligent Jesuit or Catholic who knows anything of ourselves or our journal is aware that there is no foundation for any such statement. Had we found Columbia College or the University of New-York making a burlesque of itself in the manner alluded to above, nothing would have prevented us from presenting the facts to our readers, so far as we understood them. Upon the other hand, there are no colleges in the United States of which we have spoken in higher terms than of the two Jesuit colleges of Georgetown, D. C., and Worcester, Mass. Both of these institutions have a well-earned fame. But has this rendered them stiff or exclusive, or caused them to surround themselves with mystery? This question, we think, is sufficiently answered by the fact that in their palmiest days, when under the control of the most learned and accomplished Jesuit educators in America, we were cordially invited to visit them, and afforded every facility to enable us to form an estimate of their system of teaching, in order that we might publish such views of it as we thought fair and proper. At the Worcester college we were urged and prevailed upon to remain at night in order that we might be the better able to form an opinion of the discipline of the institution; and never were we treated with more frankness or kindness anywhere. Nor was Georgetown a whit less courteous, frank, and hospitable to us. Both presidents were fully aware that we had criticised the Jesuit colleges near home; but it is well known that superior intelligence as well as superior morality inspires courage, and we are informed on the best authority that "the wicked flee when no man pursueth, while the righteous are as bold as a lion."

"Degeneres animos timor arguit."

So much, then, for our prejudice against the Jesuit fathers as educators. If our regarding some fathers as very indifferent educators be a prejudice, it is like that which we have against the ill-bred nag as compared to the thorough-bred, high-spirited Arabian charger. But let us be just to Father

Shea and Loyzance; they have not acted coarsely or rudely, which is more than could be said of some of their predecessors. Their resistance to criticism has been but passive, whereas that of some of their predecessors had been active and belligerent. Thus, for example, a professor of St. Xavier, wrote us an abusive letter, in execrable English—half Canadian-French—some six years ago, for no better reason than that we expressed the opinion to our readers that Manhattan College, conducted by the Christian brothers, was far superior to any other Catholic college in the vicinity of New-York.* This was our sincere conviction after having been present at several of the ordinary recitations of Manhattan, with the cordial permission of its president,† who was just as willing that we should hear every class and examine every department as Dr. Barnard of Columbia has recently proved himself; and we did not think it would be a mortal offence to any one to say that one Catholic college was better than another, when it was evident to any intelligent person that such was the fact.

But we soon found that this was a grave mistake, and seldom did any epistle surprise us more than the document alluded to. This, we thought, is from some junior member of the faculty; surely the president will promptly disclaim, if not condemn it. Under this impression we addressed a note to that gentleman, respectfully and faithfully stating the facts, but we never received any answer. It will be understood, then, that Father Shea and Father Loyzance have acted in a manner comparatively mild, polite, and Christian-like, although we think they—especially the former—have still an immense amount to learn in order to qualify themselves for the rectorship or government of a college; more, we fear, than it will be ever possible to put into their heads by any process yet discovered.

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* It is still more superior at the present day; and some of the more enlightened Catholics evince their appreciation of the fact by withdrawing their sons from Fordham as well as St. Xavier's, and placing them at Manhattan.

† This gentleman has since been made provincial of the order in America, as a reward of his enlightened and successful efforts in favor of collegiate education; and it is sufficient to say of the gentleman who succeeds him, that he is imbued with the same laudable zeal for the thorough education of the students which has distinguished his predecessor.

As for the venerable chancellor of the University of New-York, there is no educator anywhere who has a stronger claim on our gratitude. He was one of the very first to evince his appreciation of our labors. While our journal was in its infancy, struggling for existence, he generously gave us all the encouragement and aid in his power, and at the same time interested the university in our favor, causing it to confer upon us its highest honors.

It may be asked, What has all this to do with Columbia College, which forms the subject of our present article? but we think it has a good deal; since we all learn, or, at least, ought to learn from each other, and all admit that example is better than precept. Besides, we confess we are somewhat partial to the Socratic mode of discussion. Socrates, it will be remembered, compared all sorts of people—good, bad, and indifferent—with each other; so did Lucian in his Dialogues, and so did Cicero in his Tusculan Disputations. If any one says that a college is good or otherwise, does he not imply that there is a standard? in other words, is not the expression a relative one? Nay, is it not for the purpose of setting a good example that the faculty of St. Xavier's select their smartest students and exhibit them once in six months for the admiration of as many as their largest hall can contain when packed to its utmost capacity?

Although the amount of manuscript now accumulated before us admonishes us that we have lingered rather long with Father Shea and Father Loyzance, yet we cannot take leave of them without some examination, however brief, of a plea or two which their friends make in their favor. Some throw the blame on the Very Rev. James Perron, S.J., superior of the province which includes New-York and Canada. It is urged that this gentleman, having been an officer in the French army, is much more military than clerical or literary in his tastes and habits; and that his qualifications as an educator are exceedingly limited. To this it is added that the very reverend gentleman sends to Canada the professors who are best calculated for Fordham and St. Xavier's, and fills nearly all the "chairs" in the two New-York institutions by French Canadians, who are in need of instruction themselves, at least in the English language and

literature; and that if any subordinate is bold enough to suggest that this is not exactly the right course, he orders him off to some distant part, or if he condescends to use any argument, makes some remarks which may be freely translated as follows: "Why should I keep the best teachers here? Who are the students, in nineteen cases out of twenty, but Irish of the lower order? In Canada, you know it is different."

How correct or incorrect this may be, we cannot undertake to say, for we have no personal knowledge of the superior; but we are assured by those who knew him well, that his superiority, if not entirely imaginary, is but a mere matter of courtesy; that several of the best fathers formerly under his charge have withdrawn from the society altogether, rather than submit to his style of government.

We are very certain that the present general of the order, who is learned and liberal as well as pious and good, would not tolerate any such tyranny. And were he disposed to be indulgent to our New-York provincial, the *Constitutiones*, which he is bound to regard as next to the Bible, would not allow him to hesitate. In proof of this, we will refer, in passing, to one or two of the essential requirements or indirect commandments of that celebrated and important work. First, it is necessary that provincials be select men.* Then, if mistakes should be made in appointing them, or if they should prove wanting when weighed in the balances, they should have the advice of wiser heads than their own.† If all this does not do, their reign may be cut short,‡ in which case they are liable to be placed in the position of the most humble subordinate. It seems incredible to us that our very reverend provincial would incur the risk of being set aside in this manner; certainly we have no wish to throw the blame on him more than on Fathers Shea and Loyzance, more than the facts may be found to justify on examination.

Again, there are other good, enlightened Catholics who blame his grace, the present archbishop of New-York. Since the archbishop attends all exhibitions, they say, both of

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* "Eos oportet esse viros selectos."—*Const.* part 9, c. vi., vii., p. 326.

† "Debent habere suos consultores."—*Const.* part 9, c. vi. p. 11.

‡ "Potest prorogari et contrahi."—*Const.* part 9, c. iii.

ıam and St. Xavier's, and praises everything as perfec-
:self, the Irish will be satisfied, and that is the principal
for the success of a Jesuit college in New-York. We
ve thought ourselves, on a recent occasion, that his grace
omewhat indiscriminate, and rather hyperbolical, in his
of one of the performances alluded to above. We
ınvinced, however, that he meant well; but one may be
:ellent prelate in every spiritual or heavenly sense, and
now less about what constitutes a good education than
ımblest curate in his diocese. We humbly think that
the difficulty with his grace, and it is said that he is a
timid and narrow-minded besides. If he praises every-
done at Fordham and St. Xavier's as worthy of ad-
on as well as imitation, and has no praise to bestow on
ıuch better work of other Catholic colleges—if he will
'en honor the latter with his presence without uttering a
—it is not because his grace would intentionally call brass
r gold brass, but because he takes it for granted, having no
or investigation, that all Jesuits, ancient and modern, are
.y learned, and equally accomplished as educators, and
ıally summary in coming to the conclusion that while
who have been engaged in education only a century or
ıay be very pious, faithful, hard-working, exemplary men,
:annot be as good educators as the Jesuits, whether the
have graduated in Canada, or elsewhere, or failed to
ate anywhere!

are quite willing to excuse his grace on these grounds,
more enlightened of his own people will do so; but,
ut fair to ask, in passing, whether the object of Father
in so carefully guarding against criticism, may not be
:vent the eulogies of the archbishop from being put to
:vere a test; or to prevent the superiority of the Very
Father Perron from being called into question by too
ıs a reference to his decrees against some of his subor-
:s. Perhaps we cannot better settle this point, which
ıewhat knotty, than by quoting a passage from one of the
hlets of Dr. Barnard on college government. In dis-
g the qualifications of those who aspire to be the heads

of colleges, the present president of Columbia makes the following remarks:

"It is not enough that a man be a good man in order that he may succeed as a governor of youth. *The very best of men may make the worst possible of governors.* Good men act from convictions of duty; and when once their course is chosen, the *mens conscia recti* not only sustains them in it, but forces them to cling to it, whatever may be the consequences. How important, then, that a man should be *wise* as well as good—that his judgment should be as *sound* as his purposes are upright and his principles pure!"*

We entirely concur in these views, and we think that few will deny their force. Far be it from us to deny that Father Shea may be the best of men; indeed we do not doubt that he is a good man in certain respects; but this is perfectly consistent, according to excellent authority, with his being—as we fear he is—one of "the worst possible of governors" or rectors!

Be this as it may, as soon as we learned that Dr. Barnard had an experience of nearly half a century as a college educator, and that he had written the pamphlets on college education placed at the head of this article, we had not the east apprehension that he would prevent us from visiting Columbia College, or being present at some of the recitations of the students. We did not omit to request permission, however, and we have already mentioned the result. We were very unwilling, indeed, to trespass on the gentleman's time, but he courteously and kindly insisted on accompanying us to as many of the classes as time would permit us to see.

We had the pleasure of being present at two recitations in Latin and two in Greek; one of the former was in Virgil's Æneid, the other in the Satires of Horace; one of the latter was in the Odyssey of Homer, the other in Sophocles. We had heard that Columbia had made considerable progress during the past three or four years; this had led us to expect good translating, yet we very cheerfully admit that the reality far exceeded our expectations. In our visits to several American colleges, during the past eight or nine years we were led to the conclusion that some three or four of the Catholic col-

* *Prof. Barnard on Collegiate Education and Government*, p. 37.

leges were more thorough in Latin and Greek than the best of our Protestant colleges, not excepting Harvard or Yale; we were certainly surprised at the Romans and Grecians we saw at the Jesuit college of Worcester, Massachusetts, under the auspices of Father James Clark, now vice-president of Georgetown—where, by the way, he ought to be president, or superior. At the Worcester college we saw students for the first time in America translating Thucydides and Demosthenes orally and off-hand into Latin. Yet this did not surprise us so agreeably, or impress us so highly, as the fluent, animated Latin conversations and discussions which we subsequently witnessed at that modest, unpretending institution, near our city, known as Manhattan College.

These facts may give an idea of the impressions with which we visited Columbia, but, as we have already intimated, it is the character of the faculty, especially that of its head, which determines the character of the college for the time being. We have always denied that theology has anything to do with making good or bad Greek and Latin scholars, and need we say that it has as little to do with making good mathematicians or good chemists? but were it otherwise, we should not expect much from its influence at Columbia College, for, so far as we could see, or learn—and we have carefully examined its history—it is not in the least tinged with sectarianism.

When first established, Columbia College, or King's College, as it was then called, was considerably aided by Trinity church. This caused many to regard it as belonging to the Episcopal denomination, and accordingly it was long violently opposed by the Presbyterians under the leadership of William Livingston, although there was a clause in its very first charter that precluded the trustees from excluding any one from the advantages it offered, on account of his religion, even should they be disposed to do so. But this was not the only erroneous impression created in the public mind by the friendly aid afforded it by Trinity church; for to the present day it has been regarded as one of the wealthiest institutions in America—a notion which, as may be easily understood, does it much more harm than good, since it has a tendency to prevent its alumni and other friends from giving it aid which it has often needed,

and which would enable it, as we may take occasion to show before we close, to greatly enlarge its sphere of usefulness.

The truth is, that although Columbia is comparatively modern —being little over a century old—it was established nearly by the same combined means as the great universities of Europe, especially Oxford and Cambridge, both of which were founded by churchmen and by grants of church lands. Among its earliest friends was the good Bishop Berkeley, who deserved well of both Catholics and Presbyterians, as well as Episcopalians. For the poor, oppressed Catholics of Clogher, his diocese in Ireland, he did all in his power, and he was one of the first who gave a valuable contribution of books to the Presbyterians of Yale College.

If our space permitted, we could mention many other names and facts which would show that, if Columbia College were in the least intolerant, bigoted, or wanting in appreciation either of the classic languages or the sciences, at the present day, she must, indeed, have greatly degenerated. But the truth is that the institution was never in a more efficient state than it is at present—if indeed its standard in the past was ever so high as it is to-day altogether independently of the important work done by the School of Mines, which, it must be remembered, is a new and invaluable addition to the scientific resources of the institution.

We confess that, before our recent visit, we had the impression that too much use was made of "explanatory notes" and translations at Columbia College, in teaching the classic languages; but nowhere else have we seen less use made of either—at least, during class hours. Far from having any fault to find in this respect, we were so much pleased at the manner in which the translating exercises were conducted in the more advanced classes, that we should like to see professors in general adopt the same course. What we allude to more particularly is this; when it came to a student's turn to translate, he withdrew quietly from his ordinary seat in the class, and sat beside a small table in front of the professor's desk, where he had upon him the eyes of all his classmates in addition to those of his instructor. He opened a copy of Sophocles or Horace, as the case might be, containing nothing but the original text—no

note or comment—read a passage as directed, then translated, then answered such grammatical, historical, or other critical questions as his professor thought proper to ask him, and retired on being allowed to do so, in order to make room for another.

All this was done without any confusion, or any injurious interruption of the exercises. In short, everything we saw in the different class-rooms, including the demeanor of the students, pleased us so well that we had but one criticism to make. This was on a part of the third satire of Horace's second book; we noted this at the beginning, in our tablet, as discreetly as we could, but after we had seen and heard so much that was highly creditable and laudable, we thought that if we mentioned so trifling a matter to our readers, by way of finding fault, we should have merited such a reward as that of the critic who, on having separated the chaff from a sack of wheat by order of Jupiter to whom he had complained, was ordered to accept the chaff for his skill and pains.

Feeling that we had already trespassed a good deal on the courtesy and good nature of the president, after we had spen some three very pleasant hours with Romans and Grecians, we begged that he would not trouble himself to conduct us through the School of Mines, as he kindly offered to do; but he politely insisted on accompanying us. We mention this, as well as some other facts, for the benefit of Father Shea and others, who, too much like the Veiled Prophet, would surround themselves with mystery; and we do so because we believe, with the author of Lalla Rookh, who is more orthodox than ourselves,

> "How, like forts to which beleaguerers win
> Unhoped for entrance through some friend within,
> *One clear idea*, wakened in the breast
> By memory's magic, *lets in all the rest*."

In passing through the School of Mines, and admiring some of the various appliances by which nature is interrogated and made to reveal some of her most interesting secrets, we learned for the first time that if Columbia College has wealth it is not in the shape of money or property; though it is true

that, as compared to other colleges, it has a fair share of each. What called our attention to this was the truly splendid collection in geology, which, we were informed on inquiry, belongs, not to the college, but to Prof. Newberry, although the institution has the use of it. This collection is estimated at $20,000; the college wants to buy it, but it has so much to buy besides—especially books for the School of Mines—that it cannot afford the luxury. This suggests to us the question: Has it no *alumnus* wealthy and generous enough to relieve his *alma mater* in such an emergency?

When the progress of a college is spoken of, it is to be expected that something would be said of its general system of education; we think we cannot better gratify this expectation than by quoting an extract or two, from one of the pamphlets (written by the president) whose titles stand at the head of this paper; for although they were written while the author was in charge of another institution, we believe his opinions on the subject have undergone no change, and that his views and suggestions are accepted by the whole faculty with that deference which long experience and success in teaching should always command.

We have always thought ourselves that no college professor should confine himself to merely hearing recitations and correcting such errors as may occur to him while he is doing so. None who know us need be informed that our faith in the superior efficiency of the lecture system as a mode of instruction is no new theory on our part. We are perhaps all the more anxious on this account to invite the earnest attention of our readers to such of the views of Dr. Barnard on this subject as we can make room for in the brief space which we have now left. After fully conceding all that can be fairly claimed for the recitation system, he proceeds to show its purely mechanical character:

"But beyond this, it is certainly true that it is only in so far as, for whatever reason, the instructor does *actually superadd his own teachings to the text of the lesson*, that any *talents* or *attainments* which may belong to him personally can be *of any sort of use to his pupils*. For all the purposes of *mere* recitation, *any man* who is capable of *understanding* what the pupil says, and of *reading the book* or books from which he has learned

it, so as to compare the *performance with the text*, is as *good* and as *capable* a presiding officer and *examiner in a class-room* as any *other*. The teacher, therefore, who meets his classes for no purpose at any time but to 'hear their recitations' *is not really a teacher*, except in so far as he engrafts upon this exercise the expository feature which is the distinguishing characteristic of the plan of instruction *by lecture*. To do this, however, to any extent in the recitation-room, without seriously interfering with the specific design for which the exercise of recitation was primarily instituted, is proved by experience to be *impracticable*. Class recitations have, at best, the great disadvantage, that either but few out of a large number can perform at all, or that each one who performs shall be under examination for so brief a space of time as nearly to defeat every useful object, and to render the exercise a little better than an idle form."—*Letter to the Hon. the Board of Trustees of the University of Miss.* By T. A. P. Barnard, LL.D.

How correct these views are has been proved by the experience of the most famous colleges and universities of Europe. Any one who takes the trouble to inquire will find that just in proportion as the European colleges are famous, and worthily so, is the lecture system employed, no one being called a professor who merely hears recitationswith text-book in hand, and points out where this sentence or that sentence is incorrectly translated. A person with less knowledge of Greek or Latin than his students, having a lineal translation beside him, could do this as well as the most accomplished linguist—one who could speak the language grammatically and fluently. Accordingly, in the universities of Cambridge, Oxford, Dublin, and Edinburgh, such instructors are called "grinders." In the colleges of France they are called *répétiteurs;* but in the best of the German universities they are not recognized at all as belonging to the "board of instruction." We must not be understood, however, as entirely condemning the recitation system; all we maintain, and all Dr. Barnard maintains, is that there ought to be lectures as well as recitations. A competent person who prepares a lecture, can render his learning, culture, and talents available to his class to a considerable extent, whereas if the same person must hear from fifteen to twenty students translate, or perform some other exercises from the text-book, while all he can do is to make a few remarks here and there—even these being sometimes regarded as interruptions, if not impertinencies, by the more self-complacent but thoughtless

of the students, it is evident that he can make little use of either his learning or talents.

We should be glad to present our readers several other extracts from the same pamphlet from which we have taken the above, for they are really worthy of the attention of all who take an interest in the higher order of education. It is because such suggestions and warnings are neglected, that so large a number of American students are to be found in the colleges and universities of Europe—a much larger number than most of our readers would believe; and it is for the same reason that there are persons without culture or talent who make a profitable business of writing "commencement essays" for the students of some of our most pretentious colleges. But our diminished space will only admit one passage more. Those who have sons and daughters to educate, with the means to pay a fair rate for their education, should, whether Protestant or Catholic, earnestly and honestly ponder on the following:

"There is not a college in the whole country which can provide itself with books, and instruments, and collections in natural science, and all the other appliances essential to thorough instruction, with no resources beyond the fees paid in by students for their tuition. There is not one which can even pay its officers for their services, unless it be upon a scale which starves rather than compensates, if it possess no better reliance than this. The higher education in this country, in the words of Dr. Wayland, is *the cheapest of all commodities in the market.* It is thrown, in fact, into the market so far below its cost, that it may, with all but literal truth, be said to be given away."*

These are facts which no one capable of forming an intelligent opinion on the subject can deny. But we must close our desultory remarks; we cannot do so, however, without tendering our most sincere thanks, not only to the Rev. Dr. Barnard, but also to the different professors whose classes we had the privilege of hearing during our recent visit, for the cheerful courtesy and good-will manifested to us by all. Nor are we insensible of the decorum and politeness, worthy of gentlemen of mature age, with which the sons of the most respectable and honorable families of this great city enabled us to form our humble opinion of their intelligence and culture.

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* *Letter to Hon. Board of Trustees of University of Miss.* p. 40.

ART. VI.—1. *The Red Book, or Royal Calendar for England, Scotland, Ireland, and America, for the year* 1817. London: 1817.

2. *Murray's Official Handbook of Church and State.* London: 1855.

3. *Cassell's Representative Biographies.*

WHEN Lord Palmerston died in October, 1865, full of years, after having been half a century in office, and twice prime minister, it was at once admitted by the political advocates and opponents of reform and progress, that "something must be done." Lord Palmerston, under the successive administrations of the Duke of Portland, Perceval, the Earl of Liverpool, Mr. Canning, Viscount Goderich, and the Duke of Wellington, from 1807 to 1828, had been mildly antagonistic to parliamentary reform. During all these years, he had held the office of secretary of war, a responsible yet still second-rate position; inasmuch as, until Mr. Canning became premier, its occupant had not been admitted into the cabinet. In 1830, tempted by the offer of the portfolio of foreign affairs, Lord Palmerston became a member of the Grey Administration, whose motto was "Reform, retrenchment, and peace." He had to speak and vote in favor of the reform bills of 1831 and 1832, but scarcely concealed his conviction that it would have been wise to leave the question of parliamentary representation *in statu quo*, especially believing that under the old system, by means of close or pocket-boroughs, (as they were called,) young men of birth, talent, or fortune could readily enter the House of Commons, whereas, under a reformed system, few except persons of comparatively mature age could hope to be successful. In this way, it was argued, Fox and Pitt, Canning and Brougham, Palmerston and Peel, Russell and Macaulay, with numerous others, had become legislators at an early age.

The Reform Bill of 1832 having passed into the statute-book, Lord Palmerston set himself steadily against further reform during the thirty-three remaining years of his life. He was premier from 1855 to 1858, and again from June, 1859,

to his death in October, 1865, but reform was almost a tabooed question during all these years. In the session of 1860, he permitted Lord John Russell to introduce a reform bill, which had not the slightest chance of being passed, and was merely brought forward, it was generally believed, to save appearances and fulfil a promise given when Mr. Disraeli's reform bill of 1859 was opposed by the Palmerston-Russell party. It went slowly through the House of Commons, and not the slightest sensation was created when, toward the close of the session, Lord John Russell asked for and obtained leave to withdraw it, on the ground that there was not time to discuss it. This done, Palmerston determined that parliamentary reform should be shelved during the rest of his days. There were some avowed advocates of reform in his cabinet, some of whom had been ostentatiously loud-voiced and almost violent (before they took office) in its favor. Such were Russell, Charles Pelham Villiers, Milner Gibson, and Stanley of Alderley, and other lower officials—such as Hutt, Childers, and Dufferin.

They all submitted to Palmerston's *dictum* that parliamentary reform should not be a government measure while he was in office. Mr. Bright and others who were anxious for reform had to submit to this—the alternative being a dissolution of the so-called liberal ministry. In 1865, within a few months of Lord Palmerston's death, Mr. Bright commenting on his election speech at Tiverton, observed that it said nothing about reform, though the complaint and danger of the hour was that 5,000,000 of grown up men had no direct representation in the House of Commons. "For two or three years," he continued, "I have not made it my business, either in parliament or out of parliament, to assail Lord Palmerston. He is an octogenarian. He has lived a great deal longer than most of us will live; and I confess I have no inclination to enter into the lists with an old man upward of eighty years of age. I shall be very glad to see Lord Palmerston spend several quiet and pleasant years in the retirement for which, I think, he is eminently fitted." But, to use Virgil's words, "Diis aliter visum." Before the parliament he had summoned could assemble, Palmerston reposed, "life's fitful fever over,"

within the walls of that Westminster Abbey, the English Pantheon, where lay the ashes of Lords Chatham and Mansfield, of Fox and Pitt, of Sheridan and Canning.

On Palmerston's death, it became necessary to appoint a head of the ministry. Public opinion was strongly in favor of Mr. Gladstone, educated and eloquent, who, twenty years before, had given valuable assistance to Sir Robert Peel when that minister was introducing free trade and striving to give cheap bread to the multitude, and who had been very successful as financial minister in the respective administrations of Lords Aberdeen and Palmerston. A man of business as well as a man of genius, Gladstone had the good wishes of a majority of the working class. But, adopting a new reading of the phrase "*noblesse oblige*," Queen Victoria had to place Earl Russell—the Lord John who had introduced the reform-bills of 1831 and 1832—at the head of the new government. He was seventy-three years old, but his official experience had been considerable. He had previously presided over the home, colonial, and foreign departments; had even acted as ambassador to Vienna: and had been prime minister, after Peel's retirement, from July, 1846, to February, 1852. It was an additional recommendation—perhaps one of the strongest—that he was a duke's son, whereas Mr. Gladstone's father, though he had made vast wealth and obtained a baronetcy, was a merchant who had risen from very low circumstances.

The great whig party, ever since the revolution of 1688, which first made its leaders prominent and gave them power, had acted as if the rule must be that high office was the right of none but the members of certain great houses—the Temples, the Russells, the Cavendishes, the Petties, the Villierses, the Howards, the Granvilles, the Gowers, the Fortescues, and so on. Therefore, they steadily set their faces against placing any man of talent, without high birth, in an exalted office. They submitted to Pitt and Fox and Spencer Perceval, because, though commoners, they were peers' sons, but they sneered at Addington, when he became premier, and lampooned him as "the doctor," because his father had been a country physician. They ridiculed Canning, when he became head of the government, because, though his father was a gentleman by lineage,

his mother had been an actress. They objected to Peel, because, though one of the best educated and masterly ministers of his age, and possessed of immense wealth, his father had been a cotton-spinner. And it may be doubted whether, though they admitted Macaulay into their charmed circle, and finally put a coronet upon his head, they ever quite forgave the fact that his father was a trader and his grandfather only a Presbyterian minister in the north of Scotland: it is a fact that when, soon after he had accepted the office of secretary of state, he wrote a letter to his Edinburgh constituents, dating it from "Windsor Castle," the whig aristocracy commented with great bitterness for what they termed "his impertinence" in letting the world know that he, a nameless commoner, by his talents had attained *their* hereditary right to become the sovereign's guest. With such precedents, with such feelings, the liberal whigs who had held office under Lord Palmerston were unwilling to submit to the leadership of Mr. Gladstone, and consented to the appointment of Lord Russell, at whose inferiority of talent and peculiar tendency, as Lord Derby publicly told him, "to meddle and muddle" in everything, they had laughed for years. In this manner, Lord Russell became Lord Palmerston's successor, and virtual ruler of the British empire, in the closing days of October, 1865.

Lord Russell, taking the office of first lord of the treasury, placed the Earl of Clarendon, an experienced diplomatist, in charge of the foreign department; removed Sir Charles Wood from the India office, where he had failed to obtain confidence from or give satisfaction to the public, but broke his fall by raising him to the peerage, with the title of Viscount Halifax. In the place of Lord Clarendon, removed to the foreign office from the insignificant position of chancellor of the duchy of Lancashire, Mr. Göschen, a rich merchant who had stood at the head of the poll at the recent city of London election, was appointed. He was 34 years old, had written ably on commercial subjects, and was esteemed not only as a clear-headed and practical business man, but also as an orator of effective talent. Admitted into the ministry, in November, 1865, in the subordinate office of vice-president of the board of trade, he was made a member of the cabinet, and

successor to Lord Clarendon, in January, 1866, his original appointment and subsequent elevation being generally attributed to the strong recommendation of Mr. Gladstone, who had conceived a very high opinion of him. These were the only changes in the cabinet—Lord Cranworth, Earl Granville, the Duke of Argyll, Sir George Grey, Mr. Cardwell, Mr. Gladstone, the Duke of Somerset, Mr. Milner Gibson, Lord Stanley of Alderley, and Mr. C. P. Villiers retaining the offices they had held under Lord Palmerston. There were fifteen members in each cabinet. In Lord Palmerston's there were two dukes, four earls, one viscount, two barons, two baronets, an earl's brother, and only three persons without title. These were Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Cardwell, whose fathers had been traders in Liverpool, and Mr. Milner Gibson, a Suffolk gentleman with considerable landed property. Twelve ministers belonging to the aristocracy, and only three who belonged to the people—if, indeed, Milner Gibson could be so classed. The Russell cabinet consisted of two dukes, one marquis, four earls, two barons, one baronet, one earl's brother, and four commoners: eleven aristocrats to four men of the people.

The something that *must* be done, when the Russell ministry faced the country, early in 1866, was the bringing forward a bill for parliamentary reform. This was done by Mr. Gladstone, who, though he had begun his political career as a tory, sitting for the Duke of Newcastle's pocket-borough of Newark, had gradually adopted advanced liberal opinions. His scheme proposed to give the franchise to occupiers of premises of the annual value of £7 in boroughs and of £14 in counties. It was skilfully as well as strongly opposed by Mr. Disraeli, Lord Stanley, and their tory followers, and, at last, on the apparently trifling question, moved by Lord Dunkellin, a liberal, whether "clear" or "ratable" annual value would be taken as the basis of the franchise, the government was left in a minority of seven. Mr. Gladstone, who had the sole conduct of the proposed measure, at once resigned, true to the traditions of the whig party. It is said that Queen Victoria suggestively inquired whether it was worth while to break the government

on so small a question. He persisted, and the Earl of Derby was called upon to form a new administration.

Eminently fortunate in the circumstances of ancient lineage, high title, rich worldly possessions, cultivated talent, literary tastes, unusually great eloquence, much political experience, and the full confidence of a powerful party, the Earl of Derby, bold even to rashness, confidently accepted the government without any personal distrust. He had begun, early in life, as a progressive liberal, the politics of his family being whig. In time, he became conservative, being a strong champion of protection. When he became prime minister, in 1852, he declared that protection had become chimerical. In 1858-9, when he was a second time at the head of affairs, he had permitted his immediate lieutenant in the House of Commons to introduce reform, as a government measure. In June, 1866, he gave office to the same lieutenant. It was Mr. Disraeli in whom he thus confided, thrice making him chancellor of the exchequer. This gentleman, highly accomplished, who had won considerable literary reputation before he entered parliament, had begun political life as a strong liberal, but for many years had made himself a power in the House of Commons as leader of the conservative party. He enjoyed Lord Derby's entire confidence, and though the aristocrats on his side of the House affected to consider him only a *parvenu*, they had to submit to his leadership, on account of the tact and talent which distinguished it. Mr. Disraeli, in short, had become necessary to his party, by his genius, his adroitness, his surprising control of temper, and his sharp and sarcastic oratory. He was a powerful leader and a formidable antagonist.

The season was so far advanced when the third Derby-Disraeli administration was formed, in June, 1866, that, by common consent, important legislative business was deferred to the session of 1867. Lord Derby's cabinet consisted of one duke, four earls, one baron, a duke's son, the son of a marquis, a baron's son, two baronets, and four commoners: of the last, however, Mr. Walpole was the Earl of Oxford's cousin and General Peel was brother of the late Sir Robert. During the autumn of 1866, arose a popular demand for reform, and with it a doubt whether the tories would grant a liberal measure.

Not until on the very eve of the session of 1867, did Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli decide on dealing with the question of reform. Both had been reformers in their youth—Lord Derby, when Mr. Stanley had taken a prominent part in passing the reform bill of 1832. Their difficulty was to induce their party to grant that reform which it had so long and so strenuously opposed. In February, 1867, Mr. Disraeli proposed a £6 rating franchise in the boroughs and a £20 rating in counties. This was objected to by the Earl of Carnarvon, Lord Cranbourne, (now Marquis of Salisbury,) and General Peel, who quitted the cabinet. On March 18, Mr. Disraeli brought in the reform bill of 1867. It went much farther than Mr. Gladstone's bill, and finally passed into a law, receiving many alterations in its progress. Whenever they well could, the government yielded to its opponents, and when they could not yield, Mr. Disraeli brought the Commons to reason by a threat of dissolving parliament. The franchise was given to all householders, except those excused from being rated on the score of poverty. Lodgers paying one dollar a week rent received the franchise. The county franchise was reduced to £12 rating. The vote by ballot and the extension of the right of voting to women were negatived. A considerable redistribution of seats was made, by taking one member from several small boroughs. Additional members were given to some boroughs and to divisons of counties. Several new parliamentary boroughs were created. In all, 45 seats were redistributed.

The session of 1868 had begun in February, but, on the 25th of that month, it was formally announced that Lord Derby had resigned his office of premier. On his recommendation, the Queen placed Mr. Disraeli at the head of the government. Lord Cairns became lord chancellor instead of Lord Chelmsford, and some other changes took place during the session. The liberal opposition submitted to having reform for Scotland and Ireland passed under ministerial rule, but made several important alterations in both measures. The tories had gained the credit of carrying more extensive reforms than the liberals ever had the courage to propose, but Mr. Gladstone, who had again collected a strong party, moved three resolutions, on March 23d, pledging the commons to the

disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Episcopal Church. He carried these by large majorities. Mr. Disraeli, on this defeat, advised the Queen to accept his resignation or dissolve parliament. She declined the former, but was prepared to order a general election when the state of the public business would permit. A bill brought in by Mr. Gladstone, suspending all ecclesiastical appointments in Ireland until the Irish Church had been legislated for, was defeated in the Lords by a majority of 95, after having passed through the Commons by a large vote. Finally, on the last day of July, the parliamentary session of 1868 was closed by a speech from the throne, and duly prorogued.

On the 11th of November, parliament was dissolved, and within three weeks of that day, the general election had taken place—the result being a majority of 105 in the House of Commons in favor of Mr. Gladstone. The point on which, before the country, he joined issue with Mr. Disraeli was the Irish Church. On one hand, Mr. Disraeli maintained that this establishment, the net emoluments of which are £581,000, should be maintained, with little or no reduction; on the other, Mr. Gladstone affirmed that it was impolitic and unjust to have an endowed religious establishment, of any sort, in Ireland, and that the Protestant church in that country ought to be solely maintained by its respective congregations, precisely as is done in this country, on what is called the voluntary system.

The new parliament had been summoned to meet on December 10th, 1868, and it was expected that the speech from the throne would have been delivered five days later. But, on the 2d of December, Mr. Disraeli, considering that the result of the elections was decidedly against him, and being reluctant to enter into a parliamentary struggle which might retard but could not prevent his final defeat, tendered his resignation to the Queen. He thus effected the double object of preventing her name being mixed up with a party conflict, (as it must have been, if she had been made to express an opinion in the royal speech, hostile to the proposed Irish Church disestablishment,) and prevented considerable political agitation. Earl Russell may have expected the retiring premier to

have named him to the Queen as the most suitable person to whom might be entrusted the responsible duty of forming a new administration. But, independently of the noble earl's seventy-seven years, he had conducted himself in such a brusque, aggressive, and almost unparliamentary manner toward Mr. Disraeli, during the session of 1868, that there was no personal reason why that gentleman should say anything to advance his interests. Besides, it was Mr. Gladstone who had led the hostile array, not only in parliament, but during the great struggle during the general election, and therefore, when the queen asked the usual question put to retiring premiers, "Whom do you recommend me to send for?" Mr. Disraeli frankly answered that Mr. Gladstone, head of the successful phalanx, was the man. At once, Mr. Gladstone, then in Wales, was telegraphed for, saw the queen next day, received her command to form a ministry, and constructed it in eight days. On the 3d of December he saw the queen: on the 9th, he and his colleagues "kissed hand," upon taking the oaths of office. Mr. John Bright, being a Quaker, affirmed instead of swearing, and the queen dispensed with the form of his paying passage by "kissing hand." He was the first person to whom Mr. Gladstone offered a seat in the cabinet. It was only after much hesitation and long delay that he consented to accept office: he declined the important secretaryship for India, and took the humbler position of president of the board of trade instead. He was made a member of the privy council, and as such is entitled to have "Right Honorable" prefixed to his name.

Mr. Gladstone as premier, he being only a Liverpool trader's son, could scarcely have been very acceptable to the great whig party, the hereditary rulers of the land, when the other great party was not in office. But the whigs could not help having him at their head. He is far more liberal than they, and his liberality is progressive and even increasing. The whigs have a limit beyond which they never advance; there is no knowing how far Mr. Gladstone may go. He made a great and successful declaration of independence when declining to place Lord Russell in his cabinet. To *cut* Earl Russell, who has been a leading member of every whig administration since

1830, and had twice been prime minister, was a significant manifestation of self-confidence on Mr. Gladstone's part, and several reasons have been assigned for this. It was said that Lord Russell was too old, that he had grown conservative, of late—that he was crotchety—and that, in the Palmerston cabinet, he caused vexation and trouble by insisting on a tradition known only to himself, that an ex-premier was entitled to receive more consideration and exercise more power than any of his cabinet colleagues, with the exception of the premier.

The Gladstone contrasts favorably with the Palmerston, the Russell, the Derby, and the Disraeli cabinets, in point of talent. It is less aristocratical than any of these. Mr. Disraeli's included four dukes, two earls, a baron, two baronets, two earls' sons, and four commoners; Mr. Gladstone's has one duke, four earls, one baron, two peers' sons, and seven commoners wholly unconnected with the nobility. In the Disraeli cabinet, the only men of decided talent were himself and Lord Cairns, Lord Stanley, Mr. Ward Hunt, and Sir Stafford Northcote; in Mr. Gladstone's it must be conceded that besides himself, Lord Chancellor Hatherley, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bruce, the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Lord Clarendon, Lord Granville, Mr. Childers, Mr. Göschen, and Mr. Bright are men of mark. Indeed, some think that Lord Kimberley, Mr. Cardwell, Earl de Grey, and the Marquis of Hartington deserve to be ranked as men of decided ability. The cabinet of 1806 went by the title of "all the talents," which is more applicable to that which Mr. Gladstone has formed. The lord chancellor, Mr. Bright, Mr. Lowe, Mr. Bruce, Mr. C. Fortescue, Lord Kimberley, and Mr. Childers are respectively new to the duties of cabinet ministers. Of the fifteen who constitute the Gladstone cabinet, Lord Clarendon, aged 68, is the oldest: Lord Chancellor Hatherley is 67; Prime Minister Gladstone, 59; Mr. Bright and Mr. Lowe, each 57; Mr. Cardwell, 55; Mr. Bruce and Earl Granville, each 53; the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Chichester Fortescue, each 45; the Earl of Kimberley, 42; Earl de Grey and Mr. Childers, each 41; Mr. Göschen, 37; and the Marquis of Hartington, 35.

During the last hundred years, there have been thirty-two changes of ministry. The longest reign was Mr. Pitt's; for 17

years and 80 days during his first term. Next to him was Earl Liverpool, who was premier 14 years and 207 days; and Lord North's, which lasted 12 years and 14 days. The shortest was Lord John Russell's, ten days in December, 1845. Mr. Disraeli was the subject of sarcastic comment for having such a short term as 281 days, but the Buckingham administration lasted only 132 days, in 1782. Mr. Canning was premier for 121 days in 1827; Lord Goderich, 168 days, in 1827-8; Lord Melbourne, 128 days, in 1834; and the Duke of Wellington, 22 days, in 1834, when he was waiting the return of Sir Robert Peel from Italy. The average duration of each British administration has been a little over three years. Canning, who had made the premiership the object of his life, retained it for only four months, and died, worn out by the struggle for it. "What shadows we are, and what shadows do we pursue!"

This is not the time to speculate upon the probable permanence of Mr. Gladstone's administration, which is greatly strengthened by the presence of Mr. Bright, the tribune of the people; but few will doubt that if M Gladstone persevere and prove himself tenacious of purpose, he cannot fail to adjust the Irish Church question, backed as he is by a majority of over one hundred members in the House of Commons. He must expect to meet with antagonism from many quarters, and to be met in parliament by every stratagem which a crafty and still powerful opponent can consent to use. But in the heart of the people whose destinies are now in his hands, there is a prevailing impression that the great wrong of perpetuating an enormously rich church of the minority in Ireland has to be redressed by being removed, and that the equitable adjustment of the Irish tenants rights question must speedily follow that redress. Economy and retrenchment in thepublic expenditure will also be looked for at his hands, and it is said, indeed, that the Budget for 1869 will exhibit a reduction of $10,000,000 in the outlay for the army and navy alone. His whole career as financial minister has exhibited Mr. Gladstone as constantly having in view the object of lessening the people's burdens by diminishing or abolishing the taxes upon articles of most general consumption.

Several years ago, when the late Earl of Elgin, then gover-

nor-general of Canada, visited Washington, he was entertained at dinner by President Pierce, and made a post-prandial speech, of which a summary found its way into the newspapers. Comparing the government of the United States with that of Great Britain, he remarked that there was little real difference between the position and functions of the president in one country and the premier in the other. He could observe only a single point of difference—namely, that the English prime minister might be said to hold office while he was popular, but that the American president could retain *his* position to the close of the term for which he was elected, unless he had been convicted, on impeachment for some crime against the Constitution; in other words, that our "president is an irremovable prime minister." In England, where parliament is supposed to represent "the collective wisdom of the nation," when a government measure of any importance is defeated in the House of Commons, the head of the administration has either to resign office, on the plea that he has lost the confidence of the representatives of the people, or to dissolve the existing parliament and thereby appeal to the nation at large, or to modify the measure objected to—though this is an admission of defeat and weakness—or like William Pitt, in 1784, and Benjamin Disraeli, in 1867-8, carry on the government with apparent nonchalance, as if nothing hostile had occurred.

There is yet another difference between the head of the American government and the prime minister of England. From the beginning to the end of his presidential reign, the inhabitant of the White House at Washington is liable to be besieged with multitudinous solicitations for office—solicitations which, when supported by senators, members of the house of representatives, or powerful partisans, are very much in the nature of demands. In England, on the contrary, the prime minister has very little trouble in the dispensing of patronage, except during the anxious time—Mr. Gladstone took only eight or nine days last December—when he is forming his administration. The cabinet ministers are first appointed, after which, on consultation with these colleagues, the premier proceeds to fill up the offices, many of them of the utmost importance, which are vacant. On a change of administration in

England, there is not a general sweeping out of officials of all ranks and grades, as with us. Not more than forty-nine persons had to relinquish office, last December, when Mr. Disraeli made way, by resignation, for Mr. Gladstone, his great antagonist.

Every official appointment in the British Islands, not of a political character, is made during the good conduct of the recipient. The motto, "To the victor belong the spoils," however applicable it has been in this country, ever since the administration of General Jackson, has no practical significance in England, where only principals retire when the premier resigns. No official can be summarily dismissed in that country, except on cause alleged and proven. Whenever a vacancy occurs, it is filled up by the head of the particular department with which the office is connected, and it is not usual to consult the head of the government on the subject. *He* naturally claims and exercises the right of appointing to the higher offices. Therefore, whatever else may vex his mind, the pressure from without for appointments to office can scarcely trouble him.

The terms "cabinet" and "cabinet minister" are conventionally used in England, but the law has never formally recognized the organization they indicate. The cabinet is a select body, consisting of members of the privy council, in whom, for the time being, the whole of the sovereign's authority is vested. It is a principle of the British constitution, that "the king can do no wrong;" and as he is thereby relieved of personal responsibility, his select and acting advisers are responsible, and govern the country. The consultations of the cabinet are always considered confidential and no record is kept of its resolutions of meetings. Its existence has never been recognized by any act of parliament. When the sovereign empowers any gentleman to form an administration, that person places himself at its head, as first lord of the treasury, sometimes combining with it the office of chancellor of the exchequer, as was done by Mr. Pitt in 1784; by Mr. Perceval in 1811; by Mr. Canning in 1827, and by Sir Robert Peel in 1834. He appoints his immediate colleagues. The Gladstone cabinet consists of fifteen persons, namely: Mr. Gladstone, first lord of the treasury; Mr. Robert Lowe, chancellor of the exchequer; Mr. H. A. Bruce, home secretary; Earl of Clarendon,

foreign secretary; Earl Granville, colonial secretary; Mr. Edward Cardwell, war secretary; Duke of Argyll, India secretary; Mr. Chichester Fortescue, Irish secretary; Mr. H. C. Childers, first lord of the admiralty; Lord Hatherley, lord chancellor; Earl de Grey, president of the council; Earl of Kimberley, lord privy seal; Marquis of Hartington, post-master general; Mr. J. G. Göschen, president of the poor law board; and Mr. John Bright, president of the board of trade.

The highest salary paid to any cabinet minister is £10,000 per annum, to the lord chancellor. The first lord of the treasury, the secretaries of state, and the chancellor of the exchequer, each receives £5000 a year. In 1817, each of these salaries were as high as £6000. When the first lord of the treasury is also chancellor of the exchequer, he receives £7500 a year. These are high rates of remuneration, compared with ours; but it has been ascertained by exact calculation, that the salary of the first lord of the treasury is equivalent in value to a life annuity of about £338, commencing at the age of 21. Taking into account the uncertainties of success, the expenses of elections, the cost of living in London to attend parliament, and the average brief tenure of office, (three years,) it will be granted that the value of a successful statesman's salary is not considerable. In 1848, when Lord John Russell, then at the head of the government, was examined on salaries by a committee of the House of Commons, he deposed that he had never been in debt until he became prime minister—so far did the expenses of that dignified station exceed its emoluments.

The salaries of the fifteen cabinet ministers now in office amount to £64,000 per annum, or, excluding the lord chancellor, who receives £10,000 per annum, (£6000 as first equity judge, and £4000 as speaker of the House of Lords,) to £54,000, divided thus: first lord of the treasury, home secretary, foreign secretary, colonial secretary, war secretary, Indian secretary, and chancellor of the exchequer, each £5000 per annum; first lord of the admiralty, £4500; chief secretary for Ireland, £4000; postmaster-general, £2500; lord-president of the council, lord privy seal, president of the board of

trade, and president of the poor law board, each £2000 per annum. There are seventeen other leading ministers, political under-secretaries, not in the cabinet, who receive £27,000 a year. These are, first commissioner of works; vice-president of council on education; joint secretaries of the treasury; chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster; parliamentary secretary of the admiralty, and judge advocate-general, each £2000 a year; five parliamentary under-secretaries of state and of board of trade, each £1500; three junior lords of the treasury and secretary of poor law board, each £1000 per annum. In every public department there is a permanent under-secretary, who carries on the actual work.

The lord lieutenant of Ireland receives £20,000 a year, which rarely covers the expenses of that vice-regal but costly office. The Irish lord-chancellor has £8000. The Scottish ministers and the lord-advocate, virtually acting secretary of state, at £2388, and the solicitor-general, £955; the attorney general and solicitor-general of England are paid by fees, estimated respectively at £15,000 and £8000 per annum. The corresponding law-officers of Ireland are paid in the same way, may probably receive £5000 and £3000 a year. Out of the civil list or state allowance to the queen, ten of the chief officers of her majesty's household, namely: master of the horse, lord-steward, treasurer, comptroller of the household, captain of the corps of gentlemen-at-arms, captain of the yeomen of the guard, lord-chamberlain, vice-chamberlain, master of the buckhounds, and mistress of the robes—receive £15,638 a year.

The result is that, on a change of ministry in England, only 49 persons have to leave office. Thus:

15 cabinet ministers receive.....	£64,000 per ann.
17 principal ministers and under-secretaries,.....	27,000
2 Irish ministers,.....	28,000
10 officers of Queen's household,....	15,638
	£134,638

Added to this is the estimate of fees received by the four

law-officers of the crown in England and Ireland—say £31,000, and there are 49 persons, and no more, who make "their exits and their entrances," with the prime minister, when he relinquishes or accepts office. The salaries of these amount to £168,981 per annum, giving an average of nearly £3509 to each person. But the higher classes of professional men in England earn considerably larger incomes, with the advantage of their steady continuance, if not increase. Large as the ministerial salaries are, they are scarcely equal, except by a stricter economy than their recipients have leisure to practise, to support the outlay which is considered necessary for maintaining the dignity of high political stations.

ART. VII.—1. *The Music of the Most Ancient Nations, particularly of the Assyrians, Egyptians, and Hebrews, with special reference to recent discoveries in Western Asia and in Egypt.* By CARL ENGEL. London: 1864.

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7. *Histoire des Gaulois depuis les temps les plus reculés jusqu'l'entière soumission de la Gaule à la domination Romai* Par M. AMEDÉE THIERRY, member de l'Institut. Paris: 18

8. *Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls.* By JOSEPH RITSON, Esq. London: 1827.

IN all ages of the world, and in all countries of which we have any history, we find that music has been cultivated in some form or other. From the barbarous conch to the elaborate organ, musical instruments have been in vogue among men wherever they have formed themselves into communities. Of the extreme antiquity of some of these instruments we can form some notion from the mention that is made of two of them in the earliest book extant. In Genesis, chap. 4. v. 21, we find it recorded that Jubal was "the father of all such as handle the harp and the organ." Jubal is described as being the seventh in descent from Adam, so that we are carried back to within a short period of the creation of the Adamic race, when it appears that the harp and the organ were in use. What the precise shape of the instruments so called was is a matter of uncertainty, nor are we particularly concerned at present in discussing the question. We cannot suppose that either of them resembled the harp or the organ of modern times; but we may reasonably infer that they were somewhat complicated in their form, and that hence they were improvements upon ruder instruments that had been in use previously. And by the term "father" as above applied to Jubal, we can scarcely understand by it that he was the progenitor of a race composed exclusively, or whose occupation was entirely that, of harpers and organists. We should rather suppose that the word father here signifies preëminence, and may be understood in the metaphorical sense in which it is applied to distinguished men.

But it is with the harp that we are more immediately concerned, as it has been the national and the favorite instrument of those races who have received the name of Celts, or, more properly, Kelts. It was preëminently the national instrument of Ireland, and is still so of the Welsh. It was formerly equally popular in Scotland, but it has fallen into disuse there now. And we can trace it in various forms to the East, where it was in use in the remotest ages, as we have already seen. It was imported into Europe during that vast

immigration of Asiatic tribes which poured into the west of that continent in the sixteenth century before the Christian era. Thierry, in his great work the *Histoire des Gaulois*,* asserts that the Gauls, Galli, or Gael, a nomad race, known in after-time in Asia Minor as Galatians, came originally from Asia, and, spreading themselves over Europe, separated into various tribes, known as Celts, Belgians, Volke, Arecomaci, and Tectosages. In the sixteenth century B.C., the Celts settled in the south of France, and crossing the Pyrenees drove the Iberians further south, and formed a province of their own, called, after them, Gallicia. They styled themselves Celts, the name Gaul being that by which other nations—and particularly the Romans—distinguished them. "Qui ipsarum linguâ *Celtæ*, nostrâ *Galli* appellantur."† Thierry maintains that the Armoricans or Bretons were also of Celtic origin, though usually classed as Cimmerians, Cimbri, or Cymry; he contends that these Cimmerians were Celts speaking a language analogous to modern Welsh. He derives the name of Wales from *Wal*, "the land of the Gaul;" and Caledonia from *Celyddon*, a Gaulish word signifying "the land of forests." Albion he derives from the Celtic word, *Alb*, "a mountain," and *Iun*, "an island." In like manner Erin is derived from *Er*, "the west," and *Iun*—the western island.‡ In this manner Thierry argues the Celtic origin of the original population of England, Ireland, Scotland, Wales, and Brittany. And Mr. Ritson, in the main, agrees with him.§

The Celts in Spain occupied more than half the peninsula, and were divided by the Romans into Neriæ, Presamarci, and Cileni.‖ And vast numbers of those tribes which left the regions of the Don and the Volga settled in the north of Europe and Germany. On them were subsequently engrafted the Teutons, the ancestors of the modern Germans. Thus we see that a very large proportion of the population of Europe is of Celtic origin and of Asiatic extraction. But this Celtic element has in eastern, southern, and central Europe been sub-

* Vol. i. Introduction.
† Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, book i. ch. i.
‡ *Histoire des Gaulois*, vol. i. p. 3.
§ *Memoirs of the Celts or Gauls*, chap. iii. § 4.
‖ *Caii Plinii Secundi Historia Naturalis*, lib. iii. cap. i.

sequently modified very considerably by the blending of other races with it ; while it has remained nearly pure in Ireland, the Highlands of Scotland, Wales, and the remote parts of north-western France.

Now it is in these countries that national music of a very marked and beautiful character is found, remarkable for its plaintiveness, sweetness, and originality. It has few pretensions to science; intricate combinations of harmony are not found in it. There is no part-singing, chorus, or *fugue*, as in the music of Germany, Italy, and France. Its strains are easily remembered by the untutored ear, and sung by children. Its choruses are coronachs, wails, and dirges, sung by hundreds of voices in unison. The harp and the bagpipes are its instrumental interpreters in Ireland and Scotland; the harp in Wales; the shepherd's pipe in Brittany; the guitar in Spain. And the songs that have the strongest hold on the hearts of the people are those which have been handed down through many generations. The beautiful Irish air "Coolin," for instance, was popular in the days of Queen Elizabeth; and David Rizzio, it is said, sang the well-known melody, "Ye banks and braes o' Bonny Doon," to Italian words to please Mary, Queen of Scots; but both of these airs had been popular among the Irish for ages before Elizabeth and Mary. The extreme plaintiveness of the Irish airs struck the illustrious German composer Haydn so forcibly that he exclaimed, "It is the music of a nation that has lost its liberty!"

The Irish music is singularly characteristic of the people, running, as it does, from the lowest depth of wailing to the highest pitch of hilarity and wild enjoyment; combining with both, occasionally, a degree of humor and sly fun that is irresistibly comic. Contrast the mournful air, "My lodging is on the cold ground," with "Garryowen," "St. Patrick's Day in the morning," and "The Groves of Blarney," with "Colleen dhas cruteen na moo," and we have abundant testimony to the varied scope and genius of the music of Ireland.

So with the music of Scotland, which, however, is less expansive in its nature, and is tinged with an argumentative tone; what is called "the Scotch snap" gives it a very positive character, and those who are familiar with it will readily recognize this.

The dogged independence and self-reliance of the Scotch character breathes forth in their music; and a no less marked feature is the development of the domestic affections, so forcibly and pathetically illustrated in "John Anderson, my jo," "My ain fireside," and other popular songs. The Welsh, again, display in their music the blustering and pretentious character for which they were remarkable formerly; and their melodies do not develop the social, so much as they do the martial, qualities of the race. Rustic simplicity, combined with deep religious feeling, characterizes the Breton music. Courteous gallantry, united with the elegant movements of the dance and tinged with a decorous gravity, is the predominant feature of Spanish music, about which we shall say more presently.

The gayety and vivacity of French music are familiar to all, and France has given birth to few compositions of a solemn or classical order, such as Germany has poured forth in such profusion and of so masterly a description. We do not speak of English music, inasmuch as it has been the production of mixed and heterogeneous elements, and there is not much of it that can strictly be called national: what there is, however, is highly characteristic of the rough, turbulent, quarrelsome, and hard-drinking people who loved out-of-door sports and were not particularly polite in their manners. The very anciant ballads of, "Chevy Chase," "It's my delight on a shiny night," "Lady Greensleeves," "The Blind Beggar of Bethnal Green," etc., will illustrate our meaning. But although the music of almost every nation possesses its distinctive characteristics, there are not unfrequently some remarkable similiarities in the music of nations which have little or no intercourse with each other. These similiarities are often of such a nature that they cannot possibly be explained as accidental coincidences, but must either have originated in a former connection between the nations, or must have been derived from a common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists.

Both of these causes, however, may have been in operation among the European nations of Celtic origin: those we have just named were in such proximity that there could have been very little difficulty in communicating with each other. We know that the Phœnicians traded with Spain and the British Isles,

and there is a tradition that a lighthouse existed in the neighborhood of the Spanish port now called Corunna, for the use of navigators on their passage between that coast and Ireland.* The Spaniards (Spanish Celts) and the Irish had similar customs; one, in particular, of worshipping a certain god by dancing in the night of the full moon, with their whole families before their doors, and feasting all night.†

Mr. Engel, in his admirable and erudite treatises on "The Study of National Music" and "The Music of the most Ancient Nations," labored, and we think successfully, to prove that all music, musical instruments, and musical notation have been derived from Asia. He remarks‡ that the ancient Greeks possessed a musical notation, and from the progress which the Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, and some other nations of the same high antiquity had made in the cultivation of music, there is every reason to believe that they were likewise acquainted with a similar contrivance. The most primitive kind of musical notation—if it may be so termed—appears to be that which in ancient times the blind bards of the Celtic races are recorded to have used. It consisted merely of a rod, or a piece of wood, in which notches had been cut in various directions. The blind bards read these by the touch of their fingers, just as the inmates of blind asylums read by putting their fingers over raised letters. Some such rude contrivance as this is still resorted to by shepherds, field laborers, and other ignorant people in the rural districts of some European countries. In Wales it was called "Coel bren y beirdd," or "the wood memorial of the bards." The blind minstrels of Brittany, who perambulate the country, are still in the habit of carrying with them pieces of wood, with indentations for the purpose of recalling to their mind the different parts of their compositions.

As regards musical instruments, there is not one now in use among us that had not its prototype among the nations of antiquity. The piano is but an improvement on the dulcimer; the organ is an enlargement of the syrinx, the

* Moore's *History of Ireland*, vol. i. ch. i.
† Ritson's *Memoirs of the Celts*, p. 101.
‡ *Study of National Music*, p. 333.

wind being supplied by bellows instead of the human lungs, and the different tones being produced by pipes of various sizes instead of the ancient contrivance of stops. The cornet, cornopean, and ophicleide are skilful modifications and alterations of the antique horn. The guitar is a modification of the Asiatic lute. Cymbals, drums, triangles, bells, were in use in the remotest antiquity, especially among the Hebrews, who seem to have been peculiarly gifted with musical abilities, as they are at the present day. Mr. D'Israeli, in one of his novels, contends that they are preëminently endowed above all other nations with the gift of music, and he cites the names of a number of distinguished composers, vocalists, and performers in proof of his theory. He claims for them, at the same time, the far higher privilege and glory of being the only people to whom God has personally revealed himself and communicated his will. Through them alone has he spoken to mankind as he did through Adam, Enoch, Noah, Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Aaron, Joshua, David, Solomon, and the prophets, Jesus and his apostles: to which list he adds the name of Mohammed, as a partly inspired "Mosaic Arab."

The ancient Egyptians must properly be classed with the Asiatic nations. They were partly of Canaanitish, partly Arabian origin, with a slight intermixture of the Nubian blood. Their customs resembled those of the Assyrians in many respects. Like the latter they used hieroglyphics wherewith to inscribe their history and the mysteries of their religion on the walls of their temples, which hieroglyphics were not readily deciphered by the ignorant multitude, nor by the shepherd kings who conquered the country and tyrannized over it so long; for Mr. Osburn tells us* that the names which the Egyptians gave to these shepherd kings were ingenious perversions of real ones into the most opprobrious epithets. But this is digressing. The spoken language of the Egyptians was derived from Semitic roots, and its grammar was analogous to that of the Hebrew and Syro-Chaldaic. The ancients themselves regarded them as an Asiatic people who had settled in a corner of Africa. We are speaking now of the Egyptians of the days of the

* *Monumental History of Egypt*, ch. i.

Pharaohs, as they must have appeared to Abraham, to Joseph, and to Moses, and not of those of the days of the Ptolemies, when the country had undergone a series of foreign invasions —Babylonian, Assyrian, Persian, Greek, and Roman—each of which left its impress on the people, and changed their religion and their manners.

Their ancient music, imported from the land of their progenitors, had in the latter days become modified by foreign nations. It had in early times, in the days of Danaus and Cecrops, (sixteenth century B.C.,) been imported into Greece. The versatility of talent and the ingenuity of that illustrious Hellenic race, to whom the world owes so much, speedily improved upon the Asiatic music and musical instruments, with which they became acquainted. The Greeks did more than this; they "married" their music "to immortal verse," an advance in intellect of which the Asiatics have as yet been incapable, with the solitary exception of the Hebrews, who possessed the noblest psalmody the world has ever known. The latter were probably the inventors of antiphonal singing: they were renowned for their choral psalms and responses, and their skill in instrumental music. When they were captives in Babylon, their captors required them to "sing the songs of Zion."* In the 150th Psalm mention is made of several instruments, namely, the trumpet, the harp, the psaltery, (the form of which is not now certainly known,) the timbrel, the organ, the cymbal, and instruments classed as "stringed." So in the 33d Psalm, verse 2, we read, "Praise the Lord with harp: sing unto him with the psaltery *and* an instrument of ten strings." In this text the word "and" is printed in italics because inserted by the translators; and but for this interpolation we might understand the author to have intended the words "an instrument of ten strings" to be an explanation or amplification of the word "psaltery," so that it was probably a kind of dulcimer. In Daniel iii. 5, 7, 10, 15, mention is made of the cornet, flute, harp, sackbut, and psaltery; the sackbut here alluded to was a species of trombone. David performed on several instruments; he particularly excelled on the harp, †

* Ps. cxxxvii. † 1 Sam. xvi. 23.

and we read that when he fetched the ark from Kirjath-jearim, he "and all the house of Israel played before the Lord, on all manner of instruments made of firwood; also on harps, and on psalteries, and on timbrels, and on cornets, and on cymbals."*

Among the stringed instruments of the Hebrews no mention is made in the Bible of the violin, the main stay of the modern orchestra; but it was in all probability known to them, certainly in the later period of their history, after their return from captivity. The Greeks had it in common use at an early period. It is recorded of Themistocles, who flourished in the fifth century before Christ, that on one occasion he said "he could not fiddle, but he could make a small town a great city," which is evidence of its being well known at that period at least.

Mr. Engel contends† that most of the Greek musical instruments were nearly identical with Asiatic ones, and that the names of the oldest and principal Greek modes—the Dorian, Phrygian, Lydian, Æolian, and Ionian—also support the assertion of ancient historians, that the musical knowledge of the Greeks was originally obtained from Asia Minor and Egypt. Whether these five modes were originally founded on the five intervals of the pentatonic scale is uncertain, but it is not improbable. In other European countries have been found traces of the oriental harp, and surprising similarities in the peculiar construction and form of old instruments with those of Asiatic countries. Unfortunately, no sufficient accounts have come down to us of the degree of proficiency to which ancient performers attained; nor has enough of their music survived to enable us to judge of the extent of their knowledge of the science. We doubt that it exceeded an acquaintance with the rudiments. The knowledge of it possessed by modern Asiatics is of the most superficial character. One would think that all the musicians of Asia must have emigrated into Europe along with the Celtic, Scythian, and Tartar hordes, which for three thousand years continually poured forth their myriads, and that they left no successors or descendants. It is probably true that Asia was the cradle of our race, and also of all our knowledge,

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* 2 Sam. vi. 5. † *Music of the Most Ancient Nations*, ch. vi.

but her utility to the world as an instructress in any one art or science has long since ceased.

Uncivilized nations do not make any visible progress in music in the course of many centuries. Their new songs and dance tunes are generally formed strictly after the model of the old ones; and the same is the case with their musical instruments. In music used in sacred rites, or in old and cherished popular usages of a secular character, innovations are generally considered inadmissible. But this is not the case with civilized nations. In Germany, at the time of the Reformation, it was not unusual for the writers of sacred songs to adapt them to the old tunes then in vogue among the peasantry; and in this way drinking songs, hunting choruses, and love ditties were converted into sacred music. In the music of our modern churches it is a common thing to hear refrains from a popular opera, or selections from composers of instrumental music; and some of the most popular hymns in daily use are adaptations of English, Scotch, and German songs. The intoning, chanting, and antiphonal singing which are used in our churches are, in all probability, remains of the ancient Hebrew mode of performing the musical services of the Temple.

The apostles were Hebrews, accustomed from their childhood to the usages of their nation, and were doubtless familiar with the music used in their religious services before they became Christians; hence the adoption of it by their disciples and the early Christians. Jesus himself set the example by closing his last supper with the apostles by the singing of a hymn with them.* The Apostle Paul recommends the Ephesians to "speak to themselves in psalms and hymns and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in their hearts to the Lord."† And he gives similar advice to his converts at Colosse.‡ And the Apostle James exhorts all who are merry to sing psalms.§ From which passages we may reasonably infer not only that such singing was common, but that there was a great variety of psalms and "spiritual songs" from which to select.

The Romans derived most of their musical instruments from the Greeks, and afterward carried them from Italy into the

* Matt. xxvi. 30. † Ephes. vi. 19. ‡ Col. iii. 16. § James v. 13.

other European countries which they conquered. But they did little in the way of improving them, and it was not until Italy became Christian, and music formed a prominent feature in the church service, that the Italians made progress in the science. Then they produced a number of noble hymns in the Latin language, and improved the organ; they also composed church music, of which the Ambrosian and the Gregorian chants are noted specimens; and they cultivated part-singing and antiphonal chorals. This great branch of the Celtic family became the medium of introducing scientific music among the western nations of Europe, and in the middle ages the Latin races were preëminent in the art. The troubadours and wandering minstrels diffused "the joyous art" among all classes of the people of France, England, and Spain. The rough and fierce Normans caught the prevailing taste, and learned to play the harp and the lute. The renowned Richard, Cœur de Lion, was a musician, and could sing as well as play. We need not recur to the dubious story of Blondel, because there is better evidence than that of the fact. Music became a necessary part of the education of a gentleman, and was one of the *quadrivium* of the universities taking rank before arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy. The crusades revived the ancient intercourse between western Europe and the East, and the knights of the Red Cross brought back with them from Asia some instruments previously unknown in Europe; so, at least, Mr. Engel asserts, in his "Music of the most Ancient Nations."* He does not give us a description of these instruments; and we doubt if they were anything more than those which had been in use among the people of Asia from time immemorial, and had been known to the Greeks and the Romans, but had fallen into disuse, and been forgotten during the desolating wars which attended the fall of the Roman Empire and the incursions of countless myriads of barbarians into the civilized portions of Europe. The crusaders also brought back with them the music which they had learned in the East, and many of the airs which were popular in western Europe in the middle ages owed their origin to this.

* Chap. vi.

There is a tradition that the famous song "Marlbrouk s'en va-t-en guerre" was brought direct to France from the East by the crusaders; but the general opinion is that it is of French origin and was adopted from the French by the Arabs. However this may be, it is certain that it has long been known, and is still popular in several Eastern countries. Dodwell heard it sung in Constantinople, and also in towns of Greece; and he takes it for granted that it was introduced there by the Franks.*

Villoteau, an eminent musician, who accompanied the French scientific expedition into Egypt under Bonaparte, met with it in Egypt, where, he was told, it had formerly been sung to other words than those used at the time when he visited the country. All he could ascertain respecting its origin, was, that according to general opinion, it was introduced into Egypt by merchants from Greece. He however took it as an established fact that France must have been the country in which it originated. Mr. Engel remarks upon this, that there are several Arabic airs which closely resemble it in construction. Besides, considering the tastes and predilections of the two nations, it appears much more likely that the French would adopt a national tune of the Arabs, than that the latter should have adopted it from hearing it sung by their French visitors, with whom they felt no sympathy, but who were generally distasteful to them as foreigners and Christians. And, further, in almost every instance where we meet with a musical instrument, scale, or composition, appertaining to both Asiatic and European people, we may be sure that it originated in the East. This can often be distinctly traced, and it is a very interesting investigation to musicians who are competent antiquaries, or rather to antiquaries who are competent musicians. Villoteau also noted down an Egyptian march which was performed when the sheikhs, the civil and military authorities of Cairo, and the French residents in that city, followed by an immense crowd of Egyptians and strangers of all classes, went forth to welcome General Bonaparte upon his return from his expedition into Syria. This melody, somewhat rude but highly characteristic and effective, exhibits a peculiarity which is found

* *Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece.* By Edward Dodwell. London, 1819. See vol. ii. p. 17.

in many of the songs of the Servians, namely, ending on the interval of the second. Indeed, the music of the Servians has much affinity with that of the Arabs; so has that of the Slavonian races—all of them branches of the Celtic family. Many specimens are given by Mr. Engel in his "Study of National Music," which present some singular characteristics, one of the most striking being that they are mostly in a minor key, with very little pretension to harmony.

It is a well-known fact that harmony, as it is used at the present day in our own music, is unintelligible to most of the nations outside of Europe, that is to say, those of Asia and Africa; those on this continent which are of European origin have European tastes for music: the Indians and others may be classed with the Mongolians of Asia. Our music possesses no charms for these Asiatics and Africans, especially as melody is often greatly neglected by our composers for the sake of harmony. The latter is generally too artificial to be appreciated by people whose ear has not been trained to it. In proof of this, Mr. Engel cites an anecdote related by Rochlitz, who states that once upon a time, having become acquainted with a young Greek who was visiting Leipzig, he played to him on the piano a Greek dance-tune which had been published by Bartholdi in his travels in the East. His object was to ascertain whether the Greek would recognize the tune, and what effect it would have upon him. He played a common accompaniment to it, but the young man did not at first recognize the melody; however, he listened attentively, and soon remembered it: the oftener he heard it the more enthusiastic he became about it; but he could not reconcile himself to the accompaniment.

The principal characteristics of Celtic music are originality, pathos, and simplicity. Its genius is unfavorable to elaborate development and intricate combinations, such as delight the modern Germans, the taste for which, like their capacity for deep thought and patient investigation, they have derived from the Teutonic element in their blood. Such things as fugues, symphonies, sonatas, and the like, do not suit the impulsive Celt. He is more delighted by a Scotch song or an Irish jig, a French dance, a Spanish bolero, or a Neapolitan

tarantella. The tender pathos of the Russian and Bohemian airs is better appreciated by him than the complicated fantasies of Thalberg and Liszt. Unless trained to it, the Celtic nations care little for part-singing; but the English and the Germans are passionately fond of it. In all ages the English have been partial to duets, glees, catches, madrigals, and rounds: they make first-rate choristers, being scarcely inferior to the Germans in this respect. The natural capacity for harmony possessed by the country people of Germany is greatly fostered by their village schools, where the children are often taught to sing two-part songs. Their national music is largely composed of concerted pieces; the chorales and hymns of the early German Protestants are the finest in the world. All this is due to the Saxon or Teutonic element; and to the extent that the Germans have left their impress on the Italians, the latter have also distinguished themselves as composers and singers of concerted music. It is, however, not indigenous to Italy nor to France, Spain, or Portugal; what these nations have of it is due to the Franks and Goths, and other German tribes which mixed their blood with that of the Celtic race in those countries. Exquisitely beautiful as many of the Scotch and Irish airs are, it does not appear that either Scots or Irish ever cared for making concerted music of them. We are speaking, of course, of untutored persons in past ages; and not of the cultivated ears for music which nearly all Irishmen and Scotchmen possess at the present day. The result of this cultivation with them, however, has been to put an end, apparently, to the power of composing an original melody; for very few striking airs, excepting "Auld Robin Gray" and "Garryowen," have been produced within the last hundred years. The principal exceptions among the Celtic nations as to this unsusceptibility to musical concord or harmony, are to be found among the Slavonic tribes, such as the Russians and the Bohemians.

Another characteristic of Celtic music is its durability; we might almost say, its indestructibility. Among the Slavonic nations there are popular songs which are evidently derived from the Pagan period; but as they have been preserved only by tradition, it is reasonable to suppose that their diction has been

changed in almost the same proportion as the language of common life; nor can it be doubted that the tunes are as old as the words, if not older. Among the German country people in Westphalia, traces have been discovered of an ancient ballad, which, in the opinion of Jacob Grimm, was made in the time of Charlemagne, (about A.D. 800.) In it allusion is made to the defeat of the Roman legions under Varus by Hermann, (Arminius,) the famous chief of the Cherusci, (A.D. 9,) which event took place in the same district where the song has been found. Some of the old hymns and chants used by the night watchmen of Switzerland and Germany are several centuries old. We have already alluded to the antiquity of the Scotch and Irish airs, a subject which has been discussed by Walker in his "Historical Memoirs of the Irish Bards," and by Jones in his "Musical and Poetical Relics of the Welsh Bards," in both of which works some very curious specimens are to be found. National songs sometimes become altered, but the music seldom loses its peculiar characteristics. These, there is every reason to believe, have been in most nations preserved nearly unaltered from the most remote times. Marco Polo's accounts of the musical performances of some nations in Central Asia, written about six hundred years ago, are corroborated by modern travellers. In Greece, musical performances and dances are still found which evidently bear a strong resemblance to dances and songs which are recorded as having been popular with the ancient Greeks. Nay, what is yet more remarkable, most of the musical instruments represented on the Assyrian bas-reliefs which have been recently discovered, are still extant in western Asia, being constructed and handled by the people in precisely the same manner as we see them depicted in the hands of the Assyrians; so that from a reference to the instruments and performances of the present people in western Asia much light has been obtained respecting the principal characteristics of the music cultivated by the Assyrians nearly three thousand years ago.*

Uncivilized nations are apt, however, to assign a marvellously great age to their favorite songs. The nations of the Fiji Islands

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*Engel, *Study of National Music*, p. 330.

possess some which they say are so ancient that many of the words are no longer intelligible.* And Bowdich, on inquiring about the antiquity of a popular air which he frequently heard sung by the negroes in Ashantee, was told that the song was made when the country was made. The musical instruments of the negroes described by Europeans who visited western Africa, two hundred years ago, are exactly the same as we find them at the present day. Several of the names of our musical instruments are of Asiatic origin. And the very ancient pentatonic scale in use among the old Asiatics exists at the present day in the music of some of the Celtic nations of Europe. Among the latter were formerly in use instruments with five strings, like the old Russian *gussli* and the Finnish *cantele*, the Welsh harp, and the ancient Irish *coinar cruit*, which had twice five strings. We may reasonably surmise that these five-stringed instruments were tuned in the order of intervals constituting a scale, suggestive of the former use of the pentatonic.

The Scotch, the Irish, the French, the Breton, the Russian, the Servian, the Bohemian, and the Welsh music, though possessing characteristics in common, are yet strikingly different from each other: and the Spanish is unlike any of them, owing mainly to the stronger and more recent infusion of the Asiatic element into it. We find that the great influence which the Arabs, during their dominion in Spain, exercised over the taste of the Spaniards, is still clearly traceable in the national airs of the latter people. The Saracens invaded Spain in the beginning of the eighth century, and were subdued about three hundred years later by the Moors. It was not until the beginning of the seventeenth century (under the reign of Philip III.) that these Arabic invaders were entirely expelled from Spain, which, with the exception of some small districts in the north-west, had been for several centuries under their sway. Not only do we meet with certain forms and expressions in the popular songs of Spain which forcibly remind us of Arabic music, but also several of the Spanish musical instruments are of Arabic origin. The Spanish *laud*, for in-

* See *Ten Months in the Fiji Islands*, by Mrs. Smythe, (London, 1864,) p. 65.

stance, is the *el oud* of the Arabs. It gradually underwent reforms in its construction, and became, for a time, popular also in other European countries, under one or other similar name, such as *laute*, *luth*, etc. The *guitarra*, which has long been the special favorite instrument of the Spaniards, is still to be found, although of a somewhat different form, among the Arabs in Tunis, by whom it is called *kuitra*. Several other instruments, at the present day in the hands of the lower classes in Spain, could be pointed out as having been evidently derived from the East. The kind of Spanish music in which an Arabic influence is least perceptible is that of the church. The composers of sacred music in Spain, who, about three centuries ago, greatly excelled, appear rather to have taken the Italian music as their model. Considering the hatred which the people bore to their conquerors, it may easily be understood how averse the Spaniards must always have been to introduce anything into the service of their church which had been adopted from the Mohammedans.

With the music of the synagogue it was otherwise. The Jews had come over to Spain with the Moors, and the oriental character of their music bore a close affinity to that of the Arabic music. Among the songs used at the present day in the Sephardice synagogue, which adheres to the ritual of the Spanish and the Portuguese Jews, who were banished from the peninsula in the fifteenth century, there are several tunes which have been originally adopted from Moorish airs.

Again, the Spanish popular melodies derived from the Arabs are generally founded upon a series of intervals, partaking of the character of the Phrygian and Mixolydian modes formerly used in our church music. These have been preserved most intact in the province of Andalusia, where the influence of the Moors upon the musical taste of the people appears to have been stronger than in any other district of Spain. How widely has this characteristic music subsequently been diffused! We meet with traces of it in Mexico, Peru, Chili, and other American countries, in the Philippine Islands, and, in fact, in almost all places where the Spaniards have at any time established a footing. Dr. Pickering relates the following anecdote. "While we were at Singapore, a play was performed by the

Hindu workmen residing on Mr. Balestier's plantation. In the music I remarked a similarity to the Spanish airs heard on the western coast of America, but I should hardly have ventured an opinion on this point, had not Mr. Rich, who passed his early years in Spain, recognized the identity. The connection may probably be established, throughout the Moslems; but I must leave it to others to decide upon the relative claims to priority."* From this it appears to be possible that an amalgamation of Arabic and Hindu music may be mistaken for Spanish.

The Gypsies, dispersed like the Jews throughout almost every European country, were formerly supposed to be an Egyptian race; but eminent modern ethnologists tell us that they originally migrated from Hindustan. The musical talent of these interesting vagrants is well known. As professional musicians we meet with them in most European countries, generally in small bands roving from place to place, and entertaining the people with the national melodies of the country. Thus we find them everywhere, especially in Spain, Russia, Hungary, Transylvania, Wallachia, and even in South-America. It cannot exactly be said that they have preserved anywhere a national music of their own. They have adopted in every country the music of the people among whom they live. Still there is much in their performances which they appear to have traditionally preserved from their Asiatic forefathers. Mr. Engel remarks† that most of our musical inventions and contrivances appear to have been in use, though less perfect, among ancient Asiatic nations. Guido d'Arezzo (A.D. 1000) is said to have invented the solmization, that is, the employment of the six monosyllables, *ut, re, mi, fa, sol, la*, taken from the words of an old Latin hymn. The Hindus had, long before his time, the monosyllables *sa, ri, gha, ma, pa, dha, ni*, also obtained from words.

The employment of different colors to distinguish the *intervals*, is more remarkable. Villoteau describes an ancient Egyptian harp with five blue, six yellow, and ten red strings. The an-

**The Races of Man and their Geographical Distribution.* By Charles Pickering, M.D. London: 1854. P. 181.

† Chap. vi.

cient Chinese stringed instrument, *kin*, had, Amiot informs us, twenty-five bridges, of which five were blue, five red, five yellow, five white, and five black. The contrivances are similar on some of our own instruments. On the key-board of our piano-forte, for instance, the intervals of the diatonic scale of C major are all of one color, but the chromatic scale requires the introduction of intervals of another color. And hence, probably, its name from χρῶμα, color. The ancient Greek chromatic scale appears, however, to have borne less resemblance to our present one than to the pentatonic scale. The invention of the *harmonic* hand is usually ascribed to Guido d'Arezzo; but, according to Amiot, the ancient Chinese made use of it, and in his *Memoires concernant l'Histoire des Chinois* a drawing and description of it will be found.

The Chinese also considered the triple time the complete, and the common time the incomplete one, just as our theorists did formerly. They were also acquainted with the *circle of fifths*, by which we demonstrate the relation of the keys toward each other. Their two-stringed fiddle, *urh-heen*, is tuned in a fifth; the Japanese *samsien*, in the fifth and octave; the Hindu *dwitantri* is tuned in the same intervals as most of our instruments of the same kind. Such coincidences reveal a closer affinity between ancient Asiatic music and our own than is usually supposed to exist. It will be remembered that the Phœnicians—also a branch of the Semitic race—held, at an early period, trading intercourse with western nations in distant parts of the world, and should we ever, by fresh archæological discoveries, become acquainted with their music, as we have with that of the Assyrians, we may, perhaps, find evidence in proof of this affinity.

In comparing the Scotch music with that of certain Asiatic nations, we cannot fail to be struck with a peculiar resemblance caused by the employment of the pentatonic scale. Some inquirers conjecture that this scale must have been brought from Asia to Europe by the Celts, and that in Scotland especially it retained its original characteristics, most intact, the conditions of its preservation having been there most favorable. Others, again, believe this scale to be comparatively modern in Scotland, and attribute its origin to the

peculiar construction of certain musical instruments. Now the harp and the bagpipe may be considered as the principal instruments of the Scotch. The former has, however, become obsolete in Scotland. Both are also found in Central Asia, where they have existed apparently from the most remote period. Nay, what is more remarkable, these instruments, as formerly constructed by the Scotch and Irish, were evidently almost identical with those still used in some Asiatic countries. In an interesting leading article which appeared in "The London Times," of November 23d, 1864, after having graphically described the homage paid, on a recent diplomatic occasion in Hindustan, to the representative of Queen Victoria, by six hundred proud kings and chieftains, glittering with emeralds and diamonds, the writer incidentally observes: "Whether from fastidiousness of taste, or otherwise, it might be dangerous to inquire, but of all European music, the Indian ear loves that of the Scottish bagpipe alone; and when the pipers of the 93d regiment were ordered out to play, the gratification of her majesty's princely vassals was complete. Three times were the pipes brought up, and played round the great tent, to the delight of the company, and the Maharajah of Cashmere, we are informed, has sent an embassy to Sealkote for the express purpose of getting instruction on the instrument from the Highland corps quartered there, while another hill chieftain has bespoken the genuine article direct from Edinburgh."

The preference evinced by the Hindus for Scottish music before the music of other European nations, is quite intelligible, says Mr. Engel, and does not require comment. We may, however, notwithstanding his curt way of disposing of the matter, account for it in a very satisfactory way. From a very early period the inhabitants of India have used an instrument, called by them the Taurti, which is a sort of bagpipe with the tone of a bassoon, as we learn from M. Sonnerat, a French traveller, who visited the country in the middle of the last century. Their ears were, therefore, familiar with the sound of the Scotch pipes and they were delighted to find brother musicians among their conquerors.

Pennant attributes the invention of the bagpipe to the Danes,*

* *Tour in Scotland*, vol. 2, p. 302.

but why should the remote Asiatics possess such an instrument, if it were not indigenous with them? We know that the ancestors of the Danes came from Asia at a very remote period, and it is far more probable that they should have brought their pipes with them than that they should have invented them after they had settled in Denmark. On a fine basso-rilievo of Grecian sculpture now in Rome, there is a figure of a man playing on an instrument exactly resembling the ancient Highland bagpipe, which seems to indicate that it was known to the Greeks, and that the Romans derived it from them. There is no doubt that the latter commonly used it. Walker cites the following lines (which he attributes to Virgil, but erroneously) descriptive of a piper playing:

"Et cum multifari Tonius cui *Tibia buxo*,
Tandem post epulas et pocula multicalorem
Ventriculum sumpsit, buccasque inflare rubentes
Incipiens, oculas aperit, ciliisque levatis
Multetiesque alto flatum pulmonibus haustum
Utrem implet, cubito vocem dal *Tibia* presso,
Nunc hùc, nunc illùc, digito saliente."

A figure of the utricularius, a bagpipe, is to be seen on one of Nero's coins. Mr. Pennant, from an antique discovered at Richborough, in Kent, (England,) has proved that the Romans introduced the bagpipe into Britain at a very early period, and he suggests that the Caledonians, who inhabited the northern portion of the island, and had frequent intercourse with the Danes, may have communicated the knowledge of it to the latter. In like manner the Irish became acquainted with it. It is certainly not indigenous to these: but it prevailed in the highlands of Scotland from the time of the early invasions of the Romans. The Highlanders adopted it immediately and *con amore*, and it has ever been grateful to their ears, especially in time of war. Robertson, in his "Inquiry into the Fine Arts," (v. 1,) says "it is the voice of uproar and misrule, and the music calculated for it seems to be that of real nature and rude passion." The Scots have always used it to rouse their courage to battle. In his description of the battle of Waterloo, Byron alludes to this:*

* *Childe Harold*, cant. 3, stanza xxvi.

"And wild and high the 'Cameron's gathering' rose!
The war-note of Lochiel, which Albyn's hills
Have heard, and heard, too, have her Saxon foes!
How in the noon of night that pibroch thrills,
Savage and shrill! But, with the breath which fills
Their mountain pipe, so fill the mountaineers
With the fierce native daring which instils
The stirring memory of a thousand years;
And Evan's, Donald's fame rings in each clansman's ears!"

The bagpipe was the solace of the Scottish chieftain; and there was a college for the education of pipers in the Isle of Skye. Yet the Scotch never made any considerable improvements on the instrument. It was reserved for the Irish to give it its present complicated form, that is, two short drones and a long one, with a chanter, all of which are filled by a pair of small bellows, inflated by a compressive motion of the arm: the chanter has eight holes beginning with the lower D in the treble; the short drones tuned in unison to the fundamental E, and the large drone an octave below it. This was the favorite instrument of the Irish in the reign of Edward III.; but subsequently the harp came into greater favor, thus reviving the taste of the Irish of remote antiquity, who revered their harpers and bards. The English at one time used the bagpipe; but it did not take a very strong hold on their affection. Shakespeare alludes to it as something lugubrious.*

"*Falstaff.* I am as melancholy as a gib-cat or a lugg'd bear.
Prince Henry. Or an old lion, or a lover's lute.
Falstaff. Yea, *or the drone of a Lincolnshire bagpipe.*"

Chaucer in his *Miller's Tale*, speaks of the miller as able to play it:

"A baggepipe well couth he blewe and soune."

But in later times this instrument was held in contempt by the English, probably on account of the large intermixture of German blood in them; for it is equally despised by the Germans. Butler, in *Hudibras*,† says of it contemptuously,

"Then bagpipes of the loudest drones,
With snuff'ling, broken-winded tones,

* First part of *Henry IV.*, act. 1. sc. 2. † Part ii. cant. ii.

Whose blasts of air in pockets shut,
Sound filthier than from the gut,
And make a viler noise than swine,
In windy weather, when they whine."

Yet it is said that George II. was so much delighted with the performance of an Irish gentleman on the bagpipes, that he ordered a medal to be struck for him.

Such specimens of the ancient Greek music as have been handed down do not give us an exalted notion of it: certainly it in no wise comes up to our expectations, when we call to mind the marvellous effects attributed to it by Greek historians and poets. Orpheus, Linus, Tyrtæus, Musæus, Timotheus, and others are described as performing miracles by means of it. That it chiefly consisted of intoning and singing in recitative there is little doubt, and its effect must therefore have been due more to the sonorous majesty of the language than to the airs or choruses. Their hands must have been noisy and given to producing uncouth sounds. How could the Spartans, trained as they were for war only, successfully cultivate music? They gave no encouragement to improvements in their musical instruments. Dr. Busby,* quoting Athenæus and Boethius, gives an amusing instance of their rigid adherence to the customs established by Lycurgus. The celebrated Timotheus, of Miletus, the most eminent singer and musician of his time, (4th century B.C.,) having visited Sparta, was invited to perform before an assembly of the people. Having accepted the invitation, he appeared before his audience with a lyre of *eleven* strings, being *four* more than the usual number. He had added the latter himself as an improvement; but he received such violent marks of disapprobation that he was forced to desist, and the following decree was passed: "Whereas Timotheus the Milesian, coming to our city, has dishonored our ancient music, and, despising the lyre of seven strings, has, by the introduction of a greater variety of notes, corrupted the ears of our youth; and by the number of his strings, and the novelty of his melody, has given to our music an effeminate and artificial dress, instead of the plain and orderly one in which it has

* *General History of Music*, vol. 1, p. 146.

hitherto appeared; rendering melody infamous, by composing in the chromatic, instead of the enharmonic; the kings and the Ephori have, therefore, resolved to pass censure upon Timotheus for these things; and, further, to oblige him to cut all the superfluous strings of his eleven, leaving only the seven tones; and to banish him from our city; that men may be warned for the future, not to introduce into Sparta any unbecoming customs." Timotheus, we may add, was afterward pardoned.

The subject admits of indefinite expansion, but enough has been said, we think, to show that most of the popular music of the Celtic nations of Europe, and all the musical instruments of the present day, derive their origin from the Asiatics who lived four thousand years ago.

ART. VIII.—1. *The Inaugural Address of President Grant, March 4, 1869.*

2. *Two Speeches in Congress, etc.* March, 1869.

THERE has been a good deal of needless excitement since the election of General Grant, especially since the fourth of March. Our friends of the partisan daily press have dealt far too much in extremes. Those belonging to one party have indulged in the most extravagant praise, while those belonging to the other have been equally extravagant in their censure. One set of champions have a thousand arguments to prove that it is impossible for the republic not to flourish under the administration of Grant; another set is equally ready to demonstrate that if it do flourish it is only because it is impossible for any individual, no matter how much he may blunder, to prevent it. We are instructed on one side to regard the most indifferent or casual act of General Grant as a new proof of his superior skill in the art of government; whereas our instructors on the opposite side are equally confident and conscientious in informing us that the same act is a new proof that he has no skill of any kind, or even common understanding!

It is idle to disguise the fact that this excites ridicule at home as well as abroad. Both adversaries claim to have reason

on their side, but at the same time both set it at defiance. They forget that eulogies or denunciations have no effect with sensible people when it is evident that, at best, they are premature. It was very well to think at the proper time that General Grant would make a better president than Mr. Seymour, his opponent. We thought so ourselves, and we urged his claim accordingly; nor do we entertain a different opinion now. When General Grant first got the command of our armies in the field, we had no particular praise to bestow upon him; but after he had gained great victories none bestowed it on him more freely; none were more willing to rank him among the most illustrious chieftains.

We now regard him as on trial, just the same as he was when first made commander-in-chief of the Union armies, but with this important difference, that he has now a much better prestige in his favor than he had then. He has proved before the world that he is a faithful public servant, and a true patriot, as well as a great general; most cheerfully do we give him credit for all this; but here we must stop until he has had time to show what he is capable of as the chief magistrate of the republic. Thus far he has done nothing worthy of particular praise or blame; he has certainly done nothing which ought to be regarded by any party or clique as evidence of unfitness for the high position he occupies.

It would be for the credit of both parties to bear these facts in mind. We mistake Grant's character very much if he is not far too shrewd, and possessed of too much of the frankness of the soldier, to be much influenced by those premature eulogies. Were it otherwise it would not be very hard for him to learn that they do not amount to much; a very slight exercise of the memory would be sufficient. He cannot forget that even Andrew Johnson was once extravagantly praised by the very pens and tongues which now abuse and vilify him. At no time did we ever think highly of Mr. Johnson; we never considered him qualified to be the chief magistrate of this great and enlightened nation; but we have always thought that for the sake of his office, if for no other reason, he should at least have been treated with ordinary courtesy. But has he been treated so by those whom he displeased or disappointed?

Could the meanest alderman of a country town, convicted of robbing his constituents, have been more grossly abused on his retirement from office?

Nor has President Johnson been peculiar in this respect, except in regard to his impeachment; several other presidents were praised quite as extravagantly as General Grant has been since his election, and they have been quite as much abused at the close of their career as Andrew Johnson. No president since the time of Washington enjoyed so much immunity in this respect as Jackson, but this was not on account of his great abilities, or his undoubted patriotism; he owed it vastly more to the indomitable fearlessness and inflexibility of his character.

General Taylor was as honest and patriotic as he; none could question the courage of the hero of Monterey and Palo Alto. Accordingly he was lauded to the skies. His election was still more triumphant than that of General Grant. As a general he was compared to Hannibal and Scipio, as well as to Wellington and Napoleon; and as a ruler he was compared to Pericles and Leonidas; but he was not two months in the White House when even those who were chiefly instrumental in electing him scoffed at him, and denounced him as an imbecile! No candid person who remembers the facts will deny that had he lived to the end of his term he would in all probability have been treated with almost as much contumely as Pierce or Buchanan, or even Johnson. It was fortunate for the good old soldier's feelings, if not for his reputation, that he had only been some sixteen months in office when he died.

Such are the examples, such the warnings, which General Grant has before him. Are we to suppose that he will not profit by them? Will the partisan champions on either side make no allowance for the increased intelligence of our people? Do they imagine that the latter are as credulous now as they were twenty, twelve, eight, or even four years ago? We do not believe that General Grant is unmindful of the lessons of the past, or of what becomes the head of the nation at the present. We gave our reasons in full for this faith in our last September number, showing what the experience of the world has been as to the difference between great military chieftains and mere politicians in those instances in which both have in

turn been invested with the supreme power by the people.

It is because mere politicians are always partisans that they either become tyrants, or the tools of their party, when placed in power; and thus it was that we opposed Horatio Seymour. That it was not on account of his politics was sufficiently evident from our having cheerfully admitted that Mr. Hoffman possessed in a high degree the essential qualities and qualifications which Mr. Seymour so obviously and notoriously lacked. The former had proved, as mayor of New-York, that he was not a mere partisan, but a man of enlightened, liberal views, capable of discharging the functions of a chief magistrate with becoming dignity; whereas the latter had proved, as governor of New-York, that he was nothing but a partisan, a man of contracted, bigoted views, utterly incapable of discharging any functions above those of an alderman, with either dignity or decorum.

If it is rare to find a mere politician, invested with power, actuated by any nobler motives than those of the tyrant or the party tool, it is quite as rare to find a great general a partisan. Wellington was, indeed, a partisan for a time; he allowed himself to be so far influenced by party feeling as to give all the opposition in his power to Catholic Emancipation. But he soon became convinced that this was unworthy of him, and with the frankness and generosity of a soldier he made amends to the cause of justice and liberty of conscience—admitted that he had been wrong, and exercised all his influence both with his party and his sovereign until the bigoted and oppressive statute he had formerly sought to protect and perpetuate, was declared null and void. It should also be remembered that when Wellington acted in a partisan spirit he was not at the head of the British nation, as Grant is at the head of the American nation. When Napoleon I. was at the head of the French nation, whether as consul or emperor, he was never a partisan. No one ever heard him address any class of the French people as republicans, democrats, or imperialists. At home and abroad, in the moment of glory or of adversity, he invariably addressed them as Frenchmen. At Marengo, at Austerlitz, and at Jena, his speech was this:

"Frenchmen! the victory is ours!"* But had he pursued a different course he could never have been the great conqueror he was, not to mention his being consul or emperor; since a great national army must necessarily be composed of all parties and sects, especially when a large part of it has to be raised by conscription. A general who knows how to command must address himself to feelings which are more or less common to his whole army; if he is a partisan or a bigot, he is competent at best only to command those belonging to his own party or sect.

If General Grant be judged by this test, those inclined to be most censorious must admit that he is neither a partisan nor a bigot. Perhaps no other general since the time of Hannibal commanded a more heterogeneous army. There is not a nationality or a creed, in Europe or America, which was not represented in Grant's army; but we have yet to learn that he has shown any favor to any one above the rest, or that he has yet prevented any one from being promoted or otherwise rewarded for his bravery and courage, on account of his nationality or his political or religious creed.

But partisanship would be a still more fatal error in his present position. As a general he had charge only of the Union army; now he has charge of the whole republic. He is not the chief magistrate of a section of the country; still less is he the chief magistrate of any party or clique, but of the whole country, of all parties and cliques; and he has solemnly sworn, accordingly, to discharge his duties in the manner which is best calculated in his judgment to promote the interests of the whole nation, without regard to section or party. Now, need we say, that just in proportion as he acts in accordance with this principle, will he prove himself competent for his position and worthy of it? If, upon the other hand, he would hold men to be good, bad, or indifferent, according as they are called radicals, republicans, war-democrats, copperheads, etc.—a theory which we by no means accept—we should readily come to the conclusion that although an excellent general in time of war he has yet to learn to be a statesman.

The position of the President of the United States for the

* "Français! la victoire est à nous."

time being, is often compared to that of the king or queen of England. Before the passage of the absurd Tenure-of-Office bill, the two positions were quite similar, as indeed they ought to be, and were evidently intended to be, so far as the exercise of power was concerned, by the great founders of the republic. But this bill placed the President of the United States exactly in the position in which the Council of Ten placed the doge of Venice, a short time before the fall of the republic. In the degenerate days of Venice the doge was a mere instrument in the hands of the oligarchy; they used him to sign their decrees; he could do nothing of himself. He might nominate persons whom he thought eligible for office, but it rested with the immaculate council to say whether they could be appointed or not. If in the plenitude of their magnanimity they accepted the nominations, those appointed were entirely independent of the doge; no matter how incompetent or even dishonest he found them, he could not remove them without the consent of the oligarchy, exactly as in the case of the president of the United States, under the provisions of the Tenure bill.*

We have shown more than once that this bill destroyed all similarity between the government of the United States and all constitutional governments, including that of the Swiss republic, as well as of England; since every other government allows its chief, whether he be called a king or a president, at least to appoint his own ministers, and to dispense with their services whenever he thinks proper. Nay, we have shown that the prime minister of England is allowed vastly more power.†

But by extending the comparison we may learn something more important still. There is no such odious and unpatriotic principle recognized in England, as "To the victors belong the spoils." Queen Victoria is not the queen of whigs, tories, or radicals, but the queen of England and of the whole English people; it would be highly derogatory to her to show the least favor to one party more than to another. According-

* Vide N. Q. R. No. XXXII., art. The Venetian Republic and its Council of Ten.

† *Ibid.* No. XXXII., art. Impeachment of the President.

ly a tory premier is just the same to her as a whig premier, and *vice versa;* she may, indeed, have her secret preferences, but she must not manifest them, on pain of bringing discredit on her reign. This week she allows her tory minister to confer all the honors and substantial favors he likes on his tory friends; next week she allows her whig minister to be equally friendly and generous to his whig friends. The king of Belgium pursues exactly the same course; so does the king of Prussia; so indeed does every king who claims to be constitutional; and should the head of a republic be less liberal or more prone to favoritism than the head of a monarchy? If he should, what a mockery it is to call a republic a popular government! What a delusion to pretend to the people that they are entitled to, and must enjoy, equal rights!

But was this the course of the great Pericles? Was it the course of the still greater Washington? The illustrious chief-magistrate of the Athenian republic wielded much more power than the Spartan kings, or indeed any of the kings of his time. But was he only the chief of a faction? Did he do nothing without considering whether it would please or displease a certain clique? When he wanted advice would he consult with none but members of the party that elected him? Did he not, on the contrary, set a higher value on the advice of Anaxagoras, the philosopher, than on that of all the politicians of his time? In short, so scrupulous was he in his desire to treat all parties and factions alike, that even in choosing architects and sculptors for the great works which have contributed so much to the glory of Athens, he took care that all parties should be represented as equally as possible consistently with paying due regard to superior merit. The course of Washington need not be described here; suffice it to say that it was worthy of the Father of his Country.

We do not expect Grant to be a Pericles or a Washington; but we expect him to act honorably and manfully; we expect him to have a will of his own and thoughts of his own—not a partisan will or partisan thoughts. Far be it from us to say that he ought to set Congress at defiance; but we maintain that he should not be the tool of any party, either in Congress or out of it. None can say that we could expect any benefit to

ourselves personally, from urging this independent, impartial course on the president; although there are democrats to whom we are indebted for many kindnesses, the number of republicans to whom we are indebted is twenty-fold greater. But we like to see our political system elevated to such a degree that our best citizens—those who now shun it as a loathsome thing—will be proud to take a part in it; and it is certainly our wish, also, that one who, like General Grant, has merited the everlasting gratitude of his country, by his bravery and patriotism, and by his acknowledged genius as a commander, should not allow the politicians of any party or faction to sully his fair fame, and degrade him to their own level by inducing him to become a vulgar partisan.

There is no danger, we trust. Nor have we any fault to find with the president's present cabinet. We think that every member of it should be allowed a fair trial before he is condemned by any party. As for Mr. Fish, we are of opinion that if there are any men better qualified for the important position to which he has been appointed, they are very few. In his case at least, Grant has fully complied with the precept of Plato that no share in government should be allowed to the ignorant.* Mr. Fish is not merely a graduate of Columbia College; he has never ceased to be connected with that excellent institution; even at this moment the call by the chief of the nation to serve his country, finds him occupying the honorable position of chairman of the board of trustees of his *alma mater*. For the rest, his character is known; no one has served a term at Albany as governor of the state with a reputation so perfectly unsullied.

That Mr. Stewart is an honest, upright man none are more willing to acknowledge than we, but we confess we had serious doubts as to his fitness for the treasury department. Of his superior knowledge of the dry-goods business there could be no question; and it is equally unquestionable that there are few men living, in any country, that have a more thorough knowledge of the art or science of making money. But to surpass the wealth even of a Crœsus, and to manage the finan-

* *Vide Plato's Laws*, b. iii., c. 10.

ces of a great nation, are very different things. The former is the work of a business man, the latter that of a political economist—a philosopher.

Who are the greatest political economists? Are they not the reverse of millionaires? Take Adam Smith, for example. The humble professor of Edinburgh and writer for the "Edinburgh Review" found it difficult to subsist on his slender salary while preparing his "Wealth of Nations," a work destined to immortalize him. But although in his palmiest days he had no wealth himself, he has done the world more good than if he could have distributed twenty millions a year among the poor. Buckle, an excellent authority, affirms that "Adam Smith contributed more, by the publication of this single work, *toward the happiness of man*, than has been effected by the united abilities of all the statesmen and legislators of whom history has preserved an authentic account."

We might pass in review all the other great political economists of ancient and modern times, also the most eminent ministers of finance, without finding a millionaire or even a successful business man among either class. Still Mr. Stewart might have proved an excellent financial minister, although we entirely agree with those senators who, while they had no dislike to the man, did not think the presumption in favor of his success sufficiently strong to justify the repeal of a wise and salutary law. We do not believe that Mr. Stewart would have acted in accordance with the ancient fable of the town in danger of a siege, and maintained in his reports that the best way to enrich a nation is to overflood it with dry goods; but we think that, upon the whole, Mr. Boutwell is better qualified for the office by his experience as a public servant, and his knowledge of political economy, than Mr. Stewart.

Mr. Boutwell's appointment is also in accordance with the Platonic precept. Like Mr. Fish he has always taken a part, more or less active, in the great cause of education. Further than this we cannot say, but if he prove as able a financial minister as Mr. McCulloch, and present us such masterly reports as those of that gentleman, we shall have no fault to find.* The new

* *Vide* N. Q. R. for December, 1867. Art., Management of our Finances—Ruinous Influence of Paper Money.

secretary is, doubtless, aware that if his predecessor has for certain reasons been abused at the close of his administration of the treasury, he is liable to receive a similar reward himself, no matter how faithfully and ably he may discharge his duties.

That General Schofield would have administered the war department ably and faithfully, none, we believe, who know the gentleman have the least doubt; and we are assured that none think more highly of his qualifications for the office than President Grant. But it was General Schofield's own wish to retire; and we are inclined to believe what seems to be the general opinion, that a better substitute for him could not have been found than General Rawlins. Secretary Borie may prove a more active and energetic man than Secretary Welles, but although the former stands high in the estimation of those qualified to judge of his fitness, he cannot prove a more faithful or a more honest public servant than the latter. Upon the whole, then, we may repeat that the present prospects of a good administration are highly favorable.

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

BELLES LETTRES.

The Rightful Heir. A Drama in Five Acts. By the author of "Richelieu," etc. As first performed at the Lyceum Theatre, October 3, 1868. 16mo. pp. 61. London, 1869.

The world is always loath to believe that one man can do many things well. The element of envy in our nature makes us reluctant to acknowledge superiority in others. When compelled to accord excellence to a person in any direction, we feel that he is our debtor for this recognition of his claims. If, not content with the praise we have accorded him, he asks our commendation for something quite different, a feeling akin to resentment possesses us. But this feeling, though natural, proceeds from our selfishness. We forget that we are indebted to genius for whatever it gives us, and that our praise is not more due to the able author than to ourselves—that a frank recognition and full appreciation of his claims do us more good than they do him. We always do wrong when we attempt to strike a balance with an author, charging our praise against his work. The gifts of genius are to be received as a Christian accepts the bounties of heaven, not as something we can pay for by our praise or our gratitude, but the praise and the gratitude are due to ourselves, and, like the gifts of genius and the bounties of heaven, should be spontaneous, given because we cannot help giving them; otherwise they are of no value. But we are sometimes startled by the necessity of acknow-

ledging that an author who is excellent in one department of literature, is deserving of high praise for works indicating ability of quite another kind.

Sir E. Bulwer, now Lord Lytton, has appeared before the public in what are, apparently, very different characters, and has compelled a more or less reluctant admission of his claims to excellence in all these departments. He demands praise as novelist, dramatist, poet, and historian. As a novelist his claims were early admitted, and have been established upon an enduring basis by a great number of works. In poetry, such works as "The New Timon" and "The Lost Tales of Miletus" cannot be characterized as failures. His dramatic writings, "Richelieu," "The Lady of Lyons," and "Money," have achieved distinguished success by representations upon the stage. Making an attempt to analyze his powers, to get at the core of the man, to understand the quality of his genius, we do not find his success so astonishing nor his versatility so great as we at first supposed. As a poet he cannot be accorded a high rank. He is a master of the versifying art and of construction, but the latter power belongs to him in his quality of dramatist. He lacks genuine poetic passion. What he has of that requisite is rather assumed for artistic purposes than the spontaneous overflow of his own nature. We admire his poems, but they do not move us; they appeal to our intellect, rather than to our feelings. Consequently, they do not sway us, nor elevate our souls like the outpourings of the true poet.

What of history Bulwer has written displays little power that is not exhibited in his historical novels. Considering him as novelist and dramatist, we find little in the latter that is not included in the former, except the art of writing blank verse, and a knowledge of the requirements of the stage. In the construction of his novels and of his dramatic plots the same features are apparent. His constructive ability is, indeed, his distinguishing power, and is exhibited alike, and with the same general traits, in his novels, his poems, and his dramas. In all his costumes, the man is still visible as the artistic romancer. The power of thus showing himself in different aspects is due to his great industry in constructing robes in which to array his form. His are not complete metamorphoses, but exhibitions of the same features in different lights. The changes are not so entire that we do not recognize the man who first appeared before us.

As a dramatist Lord Lytton is rather brilliant than powerful. His plays are always good, but never great. While less faulty than those of the great dramatists, they lack the grandeur of the latter. Their chief excellence is their admirable form and their adaptedness to stage representation. They are better fitted for the stage than the closet. His plots are always interesting, bringing into action the same qualities that are required for planning his novels. Some of his characters are highly interesting, but none of them are truly original. Richelieu is indeed a grand character; Pauline, in "The Lady of Lyons," is a very womanly, and Clara, in "Money," is a lovely one. Yet, with the exception of Richelieu, who can scarcely be considered as entirely original, his characters are all conventional. Not one of them is a new revelation. All say and do just what every one would ex-

pect from them—or from any persons in similar circumstances. This is praise, as showing that these characters are natural, yet they seem to be copies rather than original studies. Great dramatists give us creations which are new as well as natural.

There is overmuch of the exquisite about Bulwer. He seems to dread soiling his dainty fingers with hammering among the lower strata of humanity. He misses much pure gold by not being willing to dig for it where others find an abundance. He gives us villains of the conventional type, but no common characters that are real. In the drawing-room he is quite at home among a certain class of ladies and fops. He can introduce knaves and gamblers there, if they come in proper dress. When he gives us what are intended for common characters, they always talk like exquisites. His fastidious ear cannot bear the homely language of the vulgar. There are no clowns on his stage. All his personages speak very much alike, for he recognizes no language that is not refined. He seems to ignore the fact that there are uncultivated people in the world. Through this exquisiteness he loses much of variety and power. He has little humor, but indulges in occasional sallies of drawing-room wit. Those authors who soar highest also dive deepest; Lytton prefers, or is only adapted to a middle course.

This last published work of Lord Lytton's is dedicated "To all friends and kinsfolk in the American commonwealth." We are sensitive to compliments as to censure, and our author will doubtless get his reward for so delicately giving us the former. This is not entirely a new work, we are told, but was rewritten from "The Sea Captain," produced many years ago, and afterward withdrawn from the stage and from circulation in printed form.

The plot of the "Rightful Heir" exhibits the author's powers of construction. An historical event—that of the delay of the Spanish armada by storms—is made subservient, but the characters and incidents are not historical. The course of dramatic events, and the stage directions, portray the times of Elizabeth, but the language throughout is Lytton's, and modern. Lady Montreville, a countess in her own right, has in girlhood secretly married a page of her father's household. Her husband commits suicide before this *mésalliance* becomes publicly known, and the infant son, the fruit of this union, is placed in the care of the village priest, Alton. The lady contracts a second marriage of which the fruit is one son, Lord Beaufort. Shame for her early indiscretion and love for her second son, who is to be her heir, make her neglect and almost forget her first offspring. Meanwhile, "The Rightful Heir," Vyvyan, who has been put into the hands of pirates to be got rid of, escapes death, and becomes a daring sailor, and in time the captain of her majesty's ship, the Dreadnought. Sir Grey de Malpas, a poor cousin, heir to the title and estate of Montreville, after the countess and her two sons, plots for the accomplishment of his desires. He is aided by Wrecklyffe, a pirate, to whom he had consigned the young Vyvyan to be made away with, and who is now actuated by feelings of revenge against the man who escaped from his clutches and gave him a wound of which he carried

the scar. Vyvyan loves a ward of Lady Montreville, Eveline, whom with her father he has once rescued from the Algerines. He goes to claim his bride, promised him by her father, and is made acquainted with his birth and rights as heir of Montreville. His half-brother, Lord Beaufort, also loves Eveline. Lady Montreville plans to get rid of Vyvyan by sending him off with her ward, leaving her second son in undisputed possession of his title and estates. Sir Grey de Malpas works upon the jealousy of Beaufort, and the thirst for revenge in Wrecklyffe, to remove all the obstacles in his own path to fortune. Vyvyan is suddenly called away by the news that the Spanish fleet has refitted and is on its way. Beaufort is ignorant of their relationship, and fired by jealousy attacks Vyvyan while on the way to his ship. Wrecklyffe is lying in wait to murder the sea-captain if Beaufort fails to do so. Vyvyan and Wrecklyffe both disappear over a precipice. A year passes in which nothing is known by his mother or affianced of the fate of Vyvyan. Lord Beaufort, supposing himself a murderer, is consumed with remorse. The plot of De Malpas has failed, inasmuch as he believes Vyvyan dead by his brother's hand; the non-appearance of Wrecklyffe affords him now the desired opportunity to set the law at work, and remove the remaining heir. He manages to excite suspicion that Vyvyan has been murdered. A search is instituted and a skeleton is found at the base of the cliff, and a plume and a gem which are identified as having belonged to the missing man. Beaufort is accused of the murder, and with his mother is brought before a magistrate. Everything works satisfactorily for Sir Grey de Malpas's plans, when the approach of Essex, with a retinue, is announced. A knight of his train enters the hall of justice, and proves to be Vyvyan. He had fallen over the precipice with Wrecklyffe, but it was the latter who was killed and whose bones had been produced. Believing himself dishonored by his failure to reach his vessel before it sailed, Vyvyan had concealed his existence from his friends, joined Essex, and won the golden spurs of knighthood. All is now discovered, truth prevails, virtue is rewarded, the unnatural mother and the villanous poor cousin are properly punished—the one by remorse and exposure, the other by the violated law. This denouement is highly artistic.

In the characters there is nothing particularly striking or original. In Lady Montreville, the conflict of a mother's love, intensified by pride and ambition for her two sons, whose interests are opposed, is well portrayed. Hers is the best-drawn character in the play, and the only one which is really interesting as a study. Vyvyan is a noble-hearted, daring sailor; Beaufort, a spoiled boy; Eveline a tender true-hearted girl—but neither character is new. Sir Grey de Malpas excites compassion as well as detestation. Wrecklyffe is simply a villain, not at all distinctively portrayed. It seems to us that for all he does or says that contributes to the development of the plot, he might as well have been omitted. It is only his bones that are of real service, and the author could have dispensed with them, or at least have exhibited them and all other acts of this man which serve his purpose, without introducing the living individual.

The language is like the author, generally almost "faultily faultless." It is Lord Lytton's language throughout—he cannot make his characters speak except with his own rhetoric. Wrecklyffe makes as dainty speeches as Lady Montreville, and no one fails to speak with purity and elegance. For instance, the rough pirate, Wrecklyffe, says:

> "Winter creeps on him;
> Lightning hath stricken me." (p. 9.)

Which is far too beautiful a thought to be uttered by such lips. Again, he says:

> "First, yellow pestilence, whose ghastly wings
> Guard, like the fabled griffin, India's gold;
> Unequal battle next; then wolfish famine;
> And, lastly, storm, (rough welcome home to England,)
> Swept decks from stem to stern; to shore was flung
> A lonely pirate on a battered hulk!
> One wreck rots stranded; you behold the other." (p. 10.)
>
> . . . .
>
> "Aloud with eager strides and clamorous voices—
> A surge of tumult, wave to wave rebooming—
> How all the might of Parma and of Spain
> Hurried its thunders on!" (p. 33.)

This is elevated almost to the regions of sublimity, but it does not belong to a vile outlaw and murderer. There may be grandeur in the rough, passion-tossed villain, when contemplated from Lord Lytton's drawing-room, but there is none in reality. Degradation of moral character never leaves sublimity of soul.

The language is generally tersely dramatic, and shows the author's wonderful powers of word-painting. Yet he is not sufficiently a poet to give us passages which are an inspiration to the reader as well as to the writer, and which are treasured in our memories as choice stores. His fine passages seem rather the product of study than of high poetic impulse. They contain no element which is above the reach of thought. Still there are passages whose beauty shames the best efforts of many latter-day poets.

> "In the son left me still, I clasp a world
> Of blossoming hopes which flower beneath my love,
> And take frank beauty from the flattering day.
> . . . In his princely smile
> How the air brightens!" (p. 13.)
>
> "He stands amidst the darkness of my thought
> Radiant as Hope in some lone captive's cell." (p. 15.)
>
> "And there the lips
> Where, till this hour, the sad and holy kiss
> Of parting lingered, as the fragrance left
> By angels, when they touch the earth and vanish." (p. 17.)

This poetical language, so beautiful in itself, seems stilted when so uniformly employed in such a work. There are a few attempts at wit and humor, uttered by Sir Grey de Malpas, but they are of rather a ghastly sort.

How he Won Her. A sequel to "Fair Play." By Mrs. Emma D. E. N. Southworth. Author of "Fair Play," "The Widow's Son," "The Bride of Llewellyn," etc. etc. 16mo, pp. 512. Philadelphia: T. B. Peterson & Brothers.

Before proceeding to discuss the merits of this book, we must ease our conscience for having put down the above number of pages. It is a misrepresentation, to call it by no worse name, but one for which we are not responsible. The book does not contain 512 pages. It is a characteristic trick of the enterprising publishers thus to falsify the old adage that "figures do not lie," by making their issues appear to contain more matter than they do. The first numbered page in this book is 24; but the trickery in the present instance is modest in comparison with some we have seen from the same house.

Many think it a very pleasant occupation to review books—the conceit of being good critics being even more general than that of ability to write books. The reviewer, it is thought, has only to read—a very pleasant occupation generally—and to write out his opinions. The task of reviewing good books is indeed pleasant enough, but it is not the good ones only which it is our duty to notice. In attempting to inform the public regarding the character of current literature, it is often incumbent on us to warn it against publications of a degrading tendency, either in morals or taste. To do this we must read before we can condemn, and it pains us to say of the productions of a lady that any person of good taste, who has looked into one of Mrs. Southworth's extensive series of novels, can imagine what are our sufferings when compelled to peruse such a work as that now before us. Sir Humphry Davy is said to have ruined his health and nearly destroyed his life in trying the effect on himself of certain chemical substances during his scientific researches. We have an unbounded admiration for his self-sacrifice to science; we do not ask that from our readers, but we certainly think ourselves entitled to their sympathy. We confess that we have not read all of this volume—we cannot believe that our duty to the public demands so much of us, and we are sure that when we have given our readers a few specimens they will be ready to admit that we have been as thorough in our examination as they could reasonably expect or wish.

The late war was a godsend to authors like Mrs. Southworth and publishers like the Petersons. Previously, those who wrote fiction for the class of readers for whom productions like this are intended, generally took for their motto Keats's line,

"Lo! I must sing a tale of chivalry."

Their materials were found all ready for use, in the pages of Sir Walter Scott and the writers of fiction of mediæval times. They could talk of camps and courts, of jousts and tournaments, of gallant knights and high-born dames, of waving plumes, richly caparisoned steeds, and shattering lances. Dramatic situations were plenty, and when appropriate exclama-

tions were wanted they could write, "Ha! villain!" "Yield thee, miscreant!" and "Die, traitor!" Our civil war has given these writers new tragic and romantic material. They can now talk of "drums, and guns, and wounds;" if we continue the quotation and say that the present writer talks about them "like a waiting gentlewoman," we judge it can be no cause of offence.

The staples of popular fiction with us nowadays are "brave defenders of our country," "the glorious Union cause," heroic deeds, rebels, guerillas, marches, battles, rebel prisons, contrabands, hospitals, hospital nurses, and sisters of mercy, with the due leaven of love. The author of the work in hand uses all these materials and some others which are unique and original, as we shall see. She even improves, in this respect, on Beecher's "Norwood," which is saying a great deal.

To begin at the beginning—which the publishers did not in numbering the pages—our authoress places on her title-page two lines of poetry, one a misquotation of Shakespeare; the other is credited to Collins, whereas it was written by Dryden. But the lady has no need to borrow wisdom from either Shakespeare or Dryden. She has a "mind of her own" in the ordinary sense of the phrase, at least. Read this if you doubt it:

"We women often weep most when we are happiest, and—ah, yes! Heaven knows, *smile* most when we are most wretched!" (p. 30.)

We are startled by the assurance that Heaven knows that fact, and has perhaps commissioned our author to reveal it to the male portion of mankind. Were it not for this supposition we should doubt that it was best to put us in possession of a secret which would make all of us who are kind-hearted at once take measures to set our wives, and daughters, and sweethearts to crying. Hamlet says.

"A man may smile, and smile, and be a villain."

But a woman, it seems, smiles most when most wretched. For one reason we are glad to know the fact; we shall always hereafter—unless we can be so daring as to doubt the assurance of our author—look with suspicion upon a smiling face, for our new principles compel us to believe that those who are most wretched are most wicked. Henceforth give us tears, and happiness, and virtue; no more sweet smiles which show hypocrisy and sorrow.

The principal female character of the story is at once clown and heroine It is a new idea to create a female clown, but it comes with an especial grace from the authoress thus to transfer such characters to her own sex. This clown-heroine is of a very respectable family, the daughter of Major Fielding, and moves in good society. She calls her father "pap," and speaks of him in this manner:

"'All right. I'll not say anything to spoil the dear old boy's digestion or disturb h i night's rest.'" (p. 68.)

"'Leave me alone, Ninie! I know my dear old governor; he'll soon be all right.'" (p. 67.)

We are further informed, that in his departure to join his regiment, "Elfie

had admonished him to keep his face clean, and his hair combed, and his shoes tied, and obey his superior officers, write home once a week, and be a good old boy generally." (pp. 81–82.) After he is gone she says to her friend:

"'Why may I not draw what comfort I can from the reflection that the dear old fello fagged me almost to death while he was here? Biess the tall baby! he never knew where he left his boot-jack, or what he did with his spectacles, or how to find his gloves.'" (p. 82.)

If this character is drawn from real life, Young America certainly has his counterpart in the other sex. Here are further specimens of the wit and humor of this lady and of the author:

"'You are down, I see; but blest if I know whether you have fallen down, or whether you have *crouched* down for a fatal spring.'" (p. 87.)

"'Oh, gammon!'" (p. 111.)

This, we hope, is enough of facetiæ. If our readers are not content we assure them that the book abounds in such passages. We will give some extracts of a different sort; specimens of the heroic language of the work:

"'And forth from the cover of the pine woods leaped a band of fierce brigands, brandishing their bayonets.'" (p. 129.)

Possibly our readers may be as much surprised as were the band of Unionists thus attacked, to learn that brigands, of whom they have read in books of European travel and fiction, have appeared in America in the guise of rebel soldiers.

"'Surrender, you blasted Yankees, before we make crows' meat of you!' shouted a gigantic guerilla, who seemed to be the leader of the band, leaping into the centre of the arena." (p. 130.)

"'Afterwards we will know what to do with them,' roared the guerilla leader." (p. 132.)

"'Thunderation! Why don't you make haste and dress yourselves,' roared Hutchinson." (p. 134.)

Of course a gigantic brigand, who made such fearful leaps, could do nothing less than roar. Here is another specimen of wisdom:

"'The roses will bloom again in spring, and hope revive again in heaven, Wing,' said Colonel Rosenthal, laying his hand kindly on the boy's head." (p. 231.)

With which sapient assurance we hope he, or she—for it was a woman in disguise—was reassured, and could hope for the hope that was to be restored in a blessed future. For examples of a striking use of language with which the work abounds, we have, "I laid down to die," (p. 27;) "for not roaring at travellers like the other hackmen did," (p. 305;) "Whatever could have made you think," (p. 421;) and "every one seemed dum-foundered," (p. 426.) These expressions are put into the mouths of the most refined characters (if that adjective is admissible) in the book, or, like the last quotation, are used by the author in narration. A delicate young lady says to her father, "My brother must have been—tremendously astonished and overjoyed." (p. 486.)

But we fancy our readers crying "Hold! enough!" and gladly forbear giving further specimens, except one for which we wish to thank the author. Speaking of the death of President Lincoln, she says: "The nation's holy sorrow is too sacred a subject to be treated here." (p. 480.) For which unexpected evidence of kindness we trust our readers will be duly grateful.

There are three heroines of this tale—nay four, for the wife of the rebel officer who is killed with him on the battle-field is to be considered one. The three on the Union side are all supposed to be refined ladies; judging from their position and character. One of them becomes a hospital nurse; the other two don male attire and join the army, doing many valorous deeds and getting captured by the rebels. One of them is called by her comrades the "destroying angel," on account, we are assured, of her "fiery impetuosity." They, of course, have plenty of love-adventures, as well as more heroic ones. One of them, the clown-heroine, is married twice during the progress of the story; her first husband, a rebel, kindly getting killed and leaving her a large fortune which she enjoys at last with a Union spouse. The story winds up with the marriage of the three heroines at the same time and place!

After all that has been done for the cultivation of the public taste, it is melancholy to know that such works as this are profitable to author and publishers. We have a list of some twenty-seven or twenty-eight works, by this author, issued by the same house, with abundance of similar twaddle from other pens. Who reads them? We answer in the words of Boileau,

"Un sot trouve toujours un plus sot qui l'admire."

EDUCATION.

Circular Appeal. By the Sisters of the Visitation in charge of Mount de Chantal Academy, near Wheeling, West-Virginia. 1869.

We have seldom read a more eloquent or a more affecting appeal than this; and we are convinced that such has never been made to the American people in vain. We have never had the pleasure of seeing either Mount de Chantal, or any of the estimable ladies who have charge of it; but competent judges, Protestant as well as Catholic, speak in the highest terms of both. Independently of our implicit confidence in the judgment of ladies and gentlemen who have visited the institution, we have had opportunities ourselves of forming an estimate of the literary abilities of two of the Sisters belonging to the board of instructors, and our estimate is much higher than we are sure it would be agreeable to those good ladies to have us give expression to thus publicly. The same respectful regard for their feelings prevents us from mentioning their names.

If we were a Catholic, both our approbation and our reticence might be attributed to superstition; but it is well known that while we have the highest respect for the Catholic church for the good it has done, and is doing, and

have every disposition to render full justice, not only to its hierarchy, but to all its religious orders, male and female, we do not hold either its educational institutions, or the individuals engaged in conducting them, as by any means exempt from criticism. So far as our judgment enables us to do so we treat even the highest dignitaries according as we find them. We yield to none in profound esteem and respect for those prelates who combine learning, talent, and piety, with liberal, enlightened views. Upon the other hand we do not pretend to have the least admiration for those of the opposite character; nor shall we shrink from criticising them whenever we think the great cause of education may be benefited by an allusion or two to their favoritism, or servile obedience to one order of educators, their opposition to another, their exaggerated praise of what deserves no praise, but censure, etc.

It is for its real worth, then, that we call attention to the Academy of Mount de Chantal and the good it is doing, and not because it is conducted by the sisters, although it is certain that we are not the less friendly to it on this account. The ladies of this institution are engaged in a work which will commend itself to every individual capable of a generous emotion, let his religious or political opinions be what they may. They have a superior institution, and all the educational appliances best calculated to command the patronage of the wealthy; but preferring to do much good rather than make much money, they devote a large department to the gratuitous education of young ladies and girls whose parents have been ruined by the war. In referring to this undertaking the sisters forcibly remark:

"However much one may deplore the causes that have led to the present destitute condition of those children, we feel assured that in their character of gifted and deserving American girls, *no person of heart will deny them in this hour of need either sympathy or aid* as far as circumstances may justify."

We are very sure that the facts only need to be known in order to justify the confidence of the good sisters in the generosity of our people; but we must make room for another passage from the "Appeal":

"Then in view of your own dear ones near you, *refuse us not a trifling coöperation* in the noble work we have begun. Aid us in any manner your good will may suggest, to build up an institution whose portals shall be open to *every deserving candidate for gratuitous education* in the vast but desolated South. Let there be no degeneracy in our young ladies of the present generation, for the want of those early educational advantages and female accomplishments, which ancestral wealth would have provided previous to our unfortunate civil war.

"To one fact especially we beg to call attention. To realize our undertaking, we have not to await the erection of a suitable edifice, nor are we in search of professors and teachers to preside over classes. Buildings and teachers are at hand, and every scholastic arrangement well organized, and all we ask is the means to support these gratuitous pupils in our midst. We, ourselves, are willing to devote to this noble work time, energy, talents, health, and *life itself*, and await our reward in another world. More than this is not ours to bestow, as we rely solely upon our labor for a support. The children confided to our care are *by no means all of our faith*—nor do we interfere with the religion of those who differ from us. Of pupils who have been admitted to our endowed scholarships, *more than one half are daughters of non-Catholics*, and, until they were received into our Academy, were entire strangers to us."

No observations that we could make would add any force to this appeal;

and, accordingly, we allow it to make its own impression, and produce its legitimate results without any comment of ours.

In another part of the present number of our journal, we assert that competent educators, whether male or female, are not afraid to have the institutions which they conduct visited by Protestants or Catholics. Of this fact we find an interesting illustration, in an article of three columns, in "Dwight's Journal of Music," from which we extract the following:

"With many others, *including the members of the Senate and Legislature of West-Virginia*, I repaired to the Seminary of Mt. de Chantal, located near Wheeling, and conducted by the Sisters of the Visitation. The attraction consisted in the performance, by the pupils, of an operetta, 'The Miracle of the Roses,' by Luigi Bordese. Of the merits of the composition itself I shall not speak, save that it is written in the best Italian style, some of the choruses presenting fine contrapuntal effects. The action, too, does not concern us. What chiefly concerns us is the musical performance, and of this I cannot write sufficiently laudatory. It could be seen that each singer filled a sphere easily within her grasp, and I was convinced that the operetta was not prepared by dint of labor (it was only two weeks in rehearsal) for momentary effect, but that it was a *product of sound culture and positive knowledge*. Especially commendable was the singing of Miss Mena Waring, of Georgetown, D. C., and Miss Ella Gordon, of Parkersburg, W. Va. The last named child is scarcely more than fifteen years old, but has a rich, round, full, sweet, and sympathetic contralto.

"The vocal department in this school is under the guidance of Sister Mary Agnes Guburt, a former pupil of Perelli, of Philadelphia, and herself one of the most finished singers to be found anywhere. Her singing of the 'Happy Birdling' was remarkably fine. The system of education pursued here is *thorough*. The pupils are chained down to exercises, and only allowed to soar into more delectable regions when their wings are expanded. The greatest care is taken in disciplining the hands, and the getting rid of bad habits of vocalization. The taste, too, of the pupils is cultivated; classical compositions only are used, and among the modern, chiefly those of Heller. The idea of the composer is always pointed out, and frequently a Sister writes, and reads to the pupils, a critique and explanation of the piece, which she does very tastefully."

We trust that timid male professors and presidents like Father Shea will profit by an example like this. But we readily admit that if disposed to take a few lessons in enlightened liberality and that sort of honest fearlessness inspired by conscious ability, it would not be necessary for him to go so far as Mount de Chantal. There is at least one of the accomplished ladies of the academy of the Sacred Heart at Manhattanville, who is fully capable of giving him all necessary instructions on these points. But the Wheeling Academy is in need of encouragement; it eminently deserves encouragement; and we are convinced it will receive it.

How to read Character; A new Illustrated Hand-Book of Phrenology and Physiognomy. For students and examiners. With a Descriptive Chart. 8vo, pp. 191. New-York: Samuel R. Wells. 1869.

Our readers are aware that we are no believers in phrenology considered as a science, but we trust they are also aware that we are willing to recognize truth, let it appear in what form or under what name it may. In accordance with this principle we have always cheerfully admitted that the Messrs. Fowler & Wells have no slight claim on the more thoughtful classes of the American people. It by no means follows that because a theory which is capable of strongly interesting the human mind is erroneous, that its study or discussion does no good. The experience of all philosophers and scientific men proves the reverse. Although the alchemist did not dis-

cover the fabled stone destined to transmute the baser metals into gold, it is not the less true that in their unwearied, enthusiastic search for it, they made discoveries quite as valuable. On the same principle, if Fowler & Wells have failed to convince the more enlightened portion of the public that the faculties of the mind are indicated by bumps, it is certain that they have not failed to make thinkers, by means of their books and periodicals, of many who would never have learned to think without their influence. We have always respect for men of whom this may be said, even while we criticise their theories.

But physiognomy is no new "ism." It is older than the time of Socrates, who, it is well known, gave the strongest testimony in its favor, after having been examined himself by a physiognomist who had no idea of the celebrity of the man whose faculties and propensities he was employed to describe from a careful examination of his face and features. But were there no truth in either phrenology or physiognomy, still the volume before us would be interesting for its ingenious arguments, and it would be worth reading for the undisputed facts embodied in those arguments.

Some of those of whose heads we have cuts illustrative of the principles of phrenology are complimented much more highly than the facts would justify. It would not be difficult to criticise several of these "representative men," but a little exaggeration of the importance of a few friends is a slight fault.

HISTORY.

An Illustrated History of Ireland, from the earliest period. By S. F. C. Pp. 671. New York: Catholic Publication Society. 1868.

It has seldom been our privilege to examine a work that has more agreeably surprised us than this. We have read no fewer than twenty histories of Ireland from as many different pens, but not one of them has pleased us so well as this, not excepting that of Moore. In this fact, by itself, there is nothing remarkable, we are aware, since those writing at the present day are much more likely to obtain access to peculiar sources of information than those who wrote a hundred years, fifty years, or even twenty years ago. But that before us is not merely the production of a lady; it is that of a nun or sister.

There is no need to deny that there has always existed a strong prejudice against histories written by women; many such have, indeed, found publishers, but to the present day none have occupied a high rank. In short, if the world has ever had a female Thucydides, Livy, or Tacitus, the masculine authors have destroyed her work out of envy, or jealousy, so that there is no vestige of it left. But if there is a general impression that even professional female authors make but indifferent historians, what sort of histories would the public expect from nuns? It will be admitted that a Protestant public at least, however liberal in other respects, would not expect a very satisfactory or reliable one from that source. Especially would this prejudice be entertained by those Protestants who are aware

that the nuns live a much more secluded life in European countries than in the United States; and in no country are they so much secluded, or rather, in no country do they seclude themselves, so much as they do in Ireland. Now when we add that the author of the history before us is an Irish nun, it will be understood why it is that the superior merits of her work have surprised us.

It is certainly no surprise to us to find an Irish nun throughly educated, and possessed of literary talent of a high order; still less is it a surprise to us to find a nun liberal, kind and generous in her feelings, even toward heretics All this, indeed, we were entirely prepared for. The question with us, in taking up the present volume, was, How could a sister of Kenmare Convent find time to collect all the materials necessary for a work of this kind, not to mention the various processes to which those materials have to be subjected before they assume their appropriate form, even in manuscript? How so much work has been accomplished we cannot say; we do not pretend to believe that miracles are performed at the present day, even in favor of the good sisters, whom Mohammedans as well as the most bigoted Protestants admit to be both an honor to their sex, and a blessing to the suffering poor of all denominations within the sphere of their influence. But no matter how the time was found for it, the new "Illustrated History of Ireland" is beyond all question an able performance. We do not merely say that the work is excellent or highly creditable, considered as that of a lady, or nun; it possesses those qualities, as compared with all the other histories of Ireland which we have read or examined; and on comparison with any history its merits will readily be acknowledged by all who are qualified to judge it.

The fair author not only evinces extensive research, but also sound erudition. She goes back to the most ancient records, but discriminates judiciously and keenly between what may be regarded as fabulous and that which is at least highly probable; at the same time, she does not forget that all nations have a certain love for traditions which have been handed down to them from generation to generation for many centuries, even when they are well aware that, to a certain extent at least, they must partake of the fabulous. Our author's style is always lucid, generally graphic and attractive; and not unfrequently she indulges, as if unknown to herself, in a strain of genuine eloquence. Here and there we have brief but comprehensive sketches of the orators, authors, statesmen, and warriors of Ireland, which serve as agreeable episodes. We should like to give some specimens of the author's style, but as the complete work is not expensive, we shall be excused for being unable to make room for more than one extract. We have marked some very choice passages, but we think none may be regarded as a fairer specimen than that which forms part of the good sister's description of Burke at the commencement of his career in London:

"It was one of those cases of suffering to which the most refined and cultivated minds are especially subjected—one of those instances which prove, perhaps, more than any other, that poor humanity has fallen low indeed. The master mind was there, the brilliant gems of thought, the acute power of reasoning, that exquisitely delicate sense of feeling, which has never yet been accurately defined, and which probably never will be—which waits for some

unseen mystic sympathy to touch it, and decide whether the chord shall be in major or minor key—which produces a tone of thought, now sublime, now brimming over with coruscations of wit from almost the same incidents; and yet all these faculties of the soul, though not destroyed, are held in abeyance, because the body casts the dull shadow of its own inability and degeneration over the spirit—because the spirit is still allied to the flesh and must suffer with it." (p. 596.)

To the Irish in America this work must be particularly acceptable, but it should be read by all who take any interest in that beautiful but ill-fated island. No Protestant need suppose that because it is the work of a nun it must necessarily be sectarian and bigoted, for it is really neither one nor the other. On the contrary, one of the qualities which have recommended it to us most strongly is the liberal, conciliatory tone which pervades it throughout. We confess we also like it for its faithful pictorial illustrations of the antiquities of Ireland; that they are faithful we can testify from the experience and observation of nearly a quarter of a century spent among some of the most interesting of those antiquities. And far from having imbibed prejudices against convents or monasteries from the same opportunities, they have convinced us of the cruel injustice of accusing the inmates of either institutions of any conduct unworthy of Christians and philanthropists.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. *The Union Pacific Railroad Company. Chartered by the United States*, etc., etc. Pamphlet. pp. 32. New-York.
2. *Railroad Communication across the Continent, with an Account of the Central Pacific Railroad of California*, etc., etc. Pamphlet, pp. 32. New-York. 1868.

A railroad connecting the Atlantic and Pacific seaboards is a grand thing to talk about, and would no doubt be grand in reality could it be properly constructed and managed. We have had our imagination so fired with discussions and representations of the magnitude of such a work and the magnificence of its results that it would be no wonder if the scheme should have as great an influence upon the public as the famous Mississippi swindle with George Law, or the South Sea bubble. We hope that the results of the Pacific railroad enterprise will not involve so many in ruin as did its great prototypes. If its *finale* shall be less deplorable, however, it will not be owing to any lack of energy on the part of those interested in it to captivate the public imagination, and to induce liberal outlays of national and private capital. This "great national work" has been advertised unsparingly in all directions. Investments in its bonds have been represented as not only sure to bring most liberal returns, but an actual patriotic duty to assist in developing the immense resources of our great country. Editors and correspondents innumerable have been furnished with free passes—and we do not know exactly what else—over such portions of the road as were completed. Journals have been filled with glowing accounts of what was done and to be done, revealing to our over-

whelmed imaginations a future of really awful magnificence. Several Bohemians have written books on the subject which have found a ready sale and put considerable sums in the pockets of the enterprising writers.

It is scarcely to be wondered at that the public should get excited over this matter, when not only journals and books were thus revealing the glories of a Pacific railroad, but when it was credibly informed that the government had taken a leading part in the work, and had granted millions upon millions of dollars in money, and lands of uncomputed value, to aid the project. Of course the people know well that they can place implicit confidence in the wisdom and probity of their representatives in Congress; they believed, of a surety, that all the money that could be wrung from them by taxation, and all our valuable public domain, should be freely given to aid this great work which is to furnish the key to untold national and private wealth in the future. That such measures as the Pacific railroad bills could be got through Congress by corrupt means; that such a thing as a lobby existed, was a suspicion not to be entertained for a moment. But this confidence in the immaculateness of our senators and representatives in Congress—whose like for wisdom and purity the world had not before seen—should not have prevented the people from exercising common-sense. If they had looked over the names of the men most prominent in proclaiming the virtue of the Pacific railroad schemes, they might have had a shrewd suspicion that it would be as well to keep their money in their pockets, at least for the present, as to be in haste to place it in the control of such parties. Who are those men? Generally, brokers of New-York and financial speculators not at all famous for public or private liberality. They are such men as Messrs. Fisk, Hatch, Cisco, and Huntington of this city, who are tolerably well known, to be sure, but not for anything that should make their direction of such a work and the management of its finances particularly satisfactory.

It would seem that the immense grants of government to aid this work should have excited suspicion when the people were further called upon to contribute from their private pockets—that having obtained such large amounts from government by means which they well knew how to employ, these schemers might have let private individuals go free. But they are insatiable. They could not even imitate the example of many highwaymen who robbed only the rich, but scorned to take his all from a man as poor as themselves. The grants of Congress, one would have thought, might have satisfied the rapacity of the most insatiable of New-York financial sharks. The acts of Congress authorizing the two companies who were to build a road to the Pacific, with branch connecting roads, granted first the right of way through the territories and all material necessary, including public lands for track, stations, depots, timber, stone, etc.; second, an absolute grant of twenty alternate sections, (equal to 12,800 acres,) per mile of the public lands through which the road runs; third, a special issue of the six per cent bonds of the United States proportioned to the length and difficulty of the line, and be delivered as the work progresses. Pursuant to these acts government has already appropriated *fifty millions*

of dollars to be divided betwen the Central Pacific and Union Pacific companies, and *ten millions additional* to the smaller branches.

The donation of land comprises a very large portion of some of the most valuable public domain. For the 1100 miles of the Union Pacific railroad, the amount thus freely given is 14,080,000 acres. It has been provided by law that the alternate sections retained by government on the line of this road, will not be sold for less than $2.50 per acre. As these lands are rapidily increasing in market value the amount which the companies may finally receive from them, is beyond computation. This land-gift is absolute, and the companies are by it put in possession of immense wealth. The lands are set apart, and the bonds issued from time to time, upon the report of the United States commissioners that twenty consecutive miles of the road are completed. These commissioners are men appointed by government to look after its interests, regarding this road. They are, of course, presumed to have no personal interests conflicting with those of government. We know enough of the management of affairs in Washington, where money is involved, to have serious doubts as to the protection of the government interests in this matter. Representations have already been made to government, that the reports of the commissioners are not in all cases to be relied on.

Besides these stupendous grants in bonds and money, the companies are authorized to issue their own first mortgage bonds, to an amount equal to that of the bonds of the United States issued to them. By special act of Congress these bonds are made a lien prior to all claims of government. It is to advertise these bonds that the many statements in pamphlets, and journals, and placards on walls and fences, have been made by these companies. Has it never occurred to the public that the government might make a better use of its money, and bonds, than by thus aiding the schemes of private speculators?

What are the government and people likely to get for their outlays for the Pacific railroad? Not much, we fear. It seems now well settled, that the road will be positively useless for a great portion of the time, during winter, on account of obstruction from snows. The road is said to be so wretchedly constructed as to be of doubtful utility at any time. Notwithstanding the competition of the Pacific railroad, the stock of the ocean lines to California has not declined in market price. The managers of these lines have nothing to fear from the overland means of transit, and have no doubt of getting all the subsidies they want for carrying the United States mails.

We shall probably soon cease to hear of Pacific railroad stock. The bubble has been pricked already, and by those who were engaged in inflating it. It has been "diamond cut diamond" with these financial speculators, and the result has been to bring the matter before the courts of this city. The state of the contest between these worthy gentlemen our readers who are interested in the matter have doubtless informed themselves of through the journals.

Twenty-second Annual Report of the Board of Directors of the Pennsylvania Railroad Company to the Stockholders, February, 1869. Philadelphia. 1869.

The public have a well-grounded fear of powerful corporations. We have got rid of hereditarily privileged classes, but we cannot well provide against abuses of the power which control of large capital gives. Yet great enterprises, requiring large outlay, can only be accomplished by the uniting of the capital of many individuals and the machinery of corporations. Such enterprises are our great transportation lines, and, indeed, all considerable internal improvements; for it is settled, in the minds of all thinking individuals, that the less government has to do with such works the better.

When such enterprises are so carried on as to benefit not only the stockholders but the public generally, those who thus manage them deserve a cordial recognition and candid acknowledgment of their ability and integrity. Such acknowledgment we believe to be due to the management of the great Pennsylvania Railroad Company whose twenty-second annual report is now before us.

The state of Pennsylvania owes a debt of gratitude to this company which her wisest public men are willing to acknowledge. Many years ago, imitating the example of New-York whose public works the genius of De Witt Clinton had rendered successful, the sister state had constructed extensive lines of transport at great expense. The state government was not at that time, nor for many succeeding years, remarkable for honesty. The public works furnished convenient tools for political intrigue and private peculation, and these opportunities were diligently improved. In consequence, the commonwealth became saddled with an oppressive debt, which was constantly increased by means of these works. The Pennsylvania Railroad Company became a power in the state, and, backed by public opinion, succeeded in effecting a purchase of the politicians' mine. The leak in the treasury was thus stopped, the old state debt was expunged, and the development of the vast resources of the commonwealth was accelerated by the judicious management of the company, who made these formerly expensive lines profitable to themselves, and beneficial to the public.

The report indicates a most prosperous condition of the company's affairs. The earnings for the past year were $17,233,497.31; expenses, $11,860,983.88; leaving a balance of net earnings of $5,372,513,43, an increase compared with last year of $893,340.95. The gross revenues for the year are equal to $48,138.26 per mile of the main road. The increase over the preceding year, in the number of passengers carried, was 399,712. The number of tons of freight carried was 4,722,015, being an increase of 421,477 tons over the former year.

The Philadelphia and Erie railroad was projected as a rival of the Pennsylvania in securing a great transit line between Philadelphia and the West. With insufficient means and indifferent management, it was soon found that the road could not be made to pay expenses. The Pennsylva-

nia railroad company then procured a lease of the Erie road for ninety-nine years, agreeing to pay thirty per cent of its earnings to the owners. The road was poorly constructed, and the necessity of repairs has added greatly to the expenses of the company in operating it. For this reason, and from the legitimate effect of its former management, the road has not yet been made to pay expenses, but there is no doubt that it will soon become profitable. The loss to the company for the past year was only $83,174.65, being $271,177.88 *less* than in 1867. It is quite probable that the next report will show a balance of credit to the road.

Dividends amounting to thirteen per cent were declared in May and November. The annual payment to the State for the purchase of her works was $460,000. All the branch lines operated by the company, except one, show balances in their favor equal to the interest upon the amounts charged against them. Besides those under its exclusive control, the Pennsylvania Railroad Company owns a majority of shares in the following roads: Cumberland Valley, Northern Central and its leased lines, and Pittsburgh, Cincinnati and St. Louis. These roads are all in a prosperous condition, their earnings for the past year being, in the aggregate, $7,055,872.06. Of the Northern Central Railway we are informed that

"Its control by this company was the result of an unsuccessful effort upon the part of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad Company to shut up this avenue as a competitor with its own railway for transportation between Baltimore and the west." (P. 12.)

In New-York great interest has been excited by the so-called railroad wars. Little of this sort has been heard of the Pennsylvania railroads, though the conflict of the Pennsylvania and Atlantic and Great Western roads, resulting satisfactorily to the former a few years ago, made some stir. We have here a statement of another contest, of the correctness of which those who know can judge:

"In the month of October last an attempt was made by the Erie and New-York Central Railroad Companies to break up the through traffic arrangements of this company, by large reductions upon their freight charges. This movement was promptly met by the Pennsylvania Railroad Company with still greater reductions from time to time, which resulted in a large increase of its tonnage. These low charges were continued until a restoration of former rates was desired by those companies, after incurring a heavy loss in their revenues, while the effort increased the prestige of this company by bringing its shorter lines and better facilities more prominently into public notice." (Pp. 15-16.)

The subject of a difference of gauge in eastern and western lines is discussed. The gauge of the Pennsylvania road has been changed from four feet eight and a half to four feet nine inches, while the gauge of the Ohio connecting roads has been reduced to four feet nine and a half inches, thus leaving a difference of only half an inch, "which it is presumed that time will reduce to the uniform gauge of four feet nine inches." (P. 18.)

As already intimated, the management of this road compares very favorably with that of the best in the United States, and its president, though he has no ambition for notoriety, may be regarded as among the foremost of our railway kings.

Annual Report for the year ending October 31, 1868, *of the Board of Metropolitan Police of the Metropolitan Police District of the State of New-York.* Pamphlet, pp. 113. New-York.

THE means for the suppression of crime in our large cities is a matter of great interest and importance to every citizen. The city of New-York has a varied record in this respect, the difficulties arising from the peculiarly heterogeneous nature of its population seeming at times insuperable. We have hopes that, as public interest is impelled to activity by the increase of crime, the arrangements for the protection of our citizens will continue to improve, and that we may in time boast of a fairer criminal record than we can at present show. Could our police arrangements be disconnected from partisan politics, this result would be sooner accomplished. As the control of the State Legislature has generally of late years been in the hands of one party and the city government in those of another, a conflict of views and systems resulting from party prejudice and animosity has inevitably arisen.

The Board of Metropolitan Police are charged with most important duties. How they discharge those duties we propose, from time to time, to examine and discuss for the benefit of our readers. Having no partisan interests in the matter, we shall, as in all other cases, praise or censure individuals or systems as seems to us just, regardless of parties.

The report before us gives an account of what was done during the year in the way of improvements in station-house and prison accommodations. The affairs of the House of Detention of witnesses are next discussed. Upon this point we entirely approve the comments and recommendations of the board. Persons entirely guiltless of any crime, who are not even suspected of violation of the laws, are needed as witnesses in criminal cases. Unable to find the bail required by law for their appearance at court, they are imprisoned in order that their testimony may be had when required. From this report we learn that the number of persons so confined during the year was 264, of whom 71 were females. The total period for which these witnesses were confined was equal to ten years six months and eighteen days of one person.

Within the last six years, the number of persons thus detained in New-York and Brooklyn was 1716, the aggregate time being equal to 25,841 days, or seven years nine months and twenty-one days of one person. This, it will be seen, entails enormous expense upon the city, as well as shameful injustice upon individuals. So far from the ends of justice being subserved by it, the effect is to prevent persons from giving information that might lead to their detention in a manner becoming only criminals. Well may the board remark on this head, that, "Such oppressive measures ought not to be tolerated in a free and Christian country, if there is any remedy to be found within the scope of legislative authority, consistent with an effective enforcement of criminal laws." (P. 8.)

But while approving the recommendations of the board to the legislature in this respect, we must condemn publication of the names of the witnesses so detained and of the period of detention of each. If it is unjust for the law thus to imprison these innocent parties, it is surely indelicate to display

their names before the public. This notoriety must be exceedingly offensive to many of them, and is not at all necessary. The occupations of these victims of an unjust law are given, and we observe that they include an actress, a doctor, two engineers, two musicians, and several clerks, merchants, scholars, etc. We pass over the detailed reports of the board of surgeons, fire marshal, property clerk, etc., which though sufficiently interesting, present no points requiring special comment.

The report of the treasurer is the most interesting and important part of the document. Its arrangement is lucid, and its statements thorough. The total receipts for the year were $3,427,067.90; of disbursements $2,691,492.62. This is what it costs to keep up the police force of this city. The details of this report are worthy of some notice. Among the items of disbursement from the metropolitan fund were, for lost children, $1860.55; for election expenses $93,300.68; advertising, printing etc., $3640.09. The total amount received from this source was $390,850; the amount which it cost to detain witnesses in criminal cases was $8494.51.

The account of the trustees of the police life insurance fund is interesting: the capital of this fund at the date of the present report amounted to $145,-788.35. We are informed that there are forty-four widows, twenty-seven retired members of the force, and three orphans, beneficiaries of the fund.

The amount of license fees and penalties for the year was $23,818.41. We have not space to call attention to all the items of interest. From our opportunities for forming a judgment we conclude that if every member of the board discharged his duties in so able and upright a manner as Mr. Brennan, there would be no reason to complain of its work.

The report of the chief clerk shows that the total of the police force for the year was 2159, not an extravagant number we should judge for the work of maintaining order in this city. The total number of arrests was 78,451, of whom 21,667 were females. Of offences, the most common were disorderly conduct, 16,868; intoxication, 25,097, 7435 of the latter being females; assault and battery, 6819. The report furnishes evidence of the beneficial influence of marriage upon society, as of those arrested, 45,545 were single, and 32,906 were married. The occupations of these malefactors is a topic of interest. There were ninety-nine artists, sixty-six actors, two hundred and fifty-nine brokers, twelve clergymen, twenty-nine editors, one hundred and fifty-four lawyers, and three hundred and thirty-five who called themselves scholars. These, we suspect, were "bad scholars!"

We would gladly give further details exhibiting the workings of our police system and the interesting facts it reveals, but want of space forbids. All citizens, especially those ambitious to become legislators or office-holders, should carefully study these reports, in order that they may be able to form intelligent opinions upon our social condition and the means adopted, or that should be adopted, for the suppression of crime.

APPENDIX.

Annual Statements of numerous Insurance Companies, and other documents. New-York, Hartford, Boston, Philadelphia, etc. 1869.

We have all varieties of "statements" in the pile now before us. Some, indeed, are as honest and faithful as ever were made under any circumstances, or by any class of business men, but the large majority belong to the fabulous genus. At least nine out of every ten "lack confirmation;" for our own part, we confess that these remind us of nothing more than the oaths of approvers, which as every body knows, have no force or value without being corroborated by the testimony of unsuspected persons.

The whole collection is highly suggestive, however. Regarding those neatly printed documents in their representative character, they become much more instructive than they seemed at first sight; nay, on a little reflection we have to admit that after all, they are not so much unlike the books, good, bad, and indifferent, which it is our duty or our destiny to review or notice from time to time. The good books published at the present day are very few; for one good one, at least nine of the bad and indifferent are issued; indeed, the different kinds bear about the same proportion to each other which those of the insurance companies do. Nor does the resemblance end here. A good book needs no extraordinary efforts to recommend it; all that is necessary, in general, is to announce it, mention the titles of some of the chapters, etc. There is no need to repeat its title fifty times, or even twice, in the same column or page; and there is as little need to declare it, any number of times, superior to all other works ever issued.

But if it is an indifferent or worthless production, then, in proportion as it is one or the other, it becomes necessary to proclaim in all the newspapers, especially in those of the sensational and *quasi* religious type that nothing like it had ever been seen before. The oftener this superiority is affirmed within the same space, and the larger the capitals used in affirming it, the better. If the thing is so worthless, and stupid withal, that none having common sense, not to mention taste, would purchase it, then it may become necessary to devote from five to twenty columns to a catalogue of its surpassing qualities. But this is not sufficient. It must be proclaimed in the same sensational style that several editions are sold in one week, nay, sometimes in one day; or what amounts to nearly the same, it must be announced before half an edition is ordered or called for that ten, fifteen, or even twenty editions each including thousands, have been sold, and that still the demand is on the increase, the public avidity remains unsatisfied!

Now let our readers look about, or exercise their memory a little and judge for themselves whether we exaggerate on one side or the other; and if they extend their researches somewhat, they will find that there is some reason for the similarity between the books and the insurance companies possessing the same characteristics respectively. They will see that what-

ever our publishers were in the past, they never issued so few books worth reading as they do now.

But how could it be otherwise, since they too have been seized with the insurance mania? Even our friend Harper—the head of all the Harpers—he who used to publish such excellent books formerly, must needs be an insurance director. If he had given the benefit of his insurance talents to a good company, it were less matter; as it is, we fear he will never derive any great amount either of credit or profit from the insurance department of his business. In our humble opinion, it is much more useful, honorable, aye and profitable, in the long run, to issue good books than policies of a doubtful character; although, far be it from us to say that genuine policies—such as mean what they say, and will perform what they promise—such as we shall indicate before we close—are as good as the best books, since they afford the means of procuring the best. But how many of this class are "Guardian" policies? How many "Guardian" policies would be worth the smallest volume of Coleridge, Humboldt, Hallam, Hume, Macaulay, or any of the other standard works with which Mr. Harper used to favor us only a few brief years ago, before the insurance mania assumed the epidemic type?

We are neither so sorry nor so much surprised that Mr. Appleton has turned insurer. Had he made that disposition of himself twenty years ago, the world might have been as well off to-day. Yet we felt some concern for the New-York Life, when we heard that Mr. Appleton had become one of its directors, for this was once a very decent company. We never thought very highly of the Appletonian system of publishing; and we fear that not many authors, English, French, or German, regard it in a different light. If it be a favorite with any American authors worthy of the name, their number must be very few; and still fewer, we suspect, would have much faith in policies issued on the same plan.

Most cheerfully do we admit that Mr. Appleton has published some good books; indeed, we have never known the gentleman to reject a book on account of its being good, provided he thought it would pay to print and bind it, without saying as much as "by your leave," to the author. But what is the percentage paid to American authors whose productions cannot be appropriated in this way? Suppose it is ten or fifteen per cent; then apply the same rule to life insurance policies, and see how it will work; that is, place the policy-holder in the position of the author. If the enterprising publisher makes $10,000 by a book, and gives $1000 to the author, there is a saving of $9000. If the same publisher will so manage, that he has to pay nothing at all for ten other books, each of which brings him an equal amount, if not more, it is evident that he can put on great airs. He can build fine houses, and do many other things of which the authors, whose labors produced the money, ought to be very proud! Still he thinks he does not make the money fast enough, and therefore he becomes an insurer. The self-sacrificing and philanthropic officers of the New-York Life being consulted on the subject, give him a few hints, for they too are great friends of literature when they think it will pay—that is, when it is

sufficiently eulogistic of themselves, and sufficiently depreciatory of all their rivals. Be this as it may, the publisher learns that no humbler or plainer house than a palace of white marble, the value of which is estimated in millions, will serve as an office for the company.* This sets him to think; he asks what percentage do the benevolent "New-York" insurers pay. He is answered with a significant smile, or sardonic laugh, which the book man fully understands. Then he thinks how delighted the policy-holders must feel at the idea of having their money taken care of in such a fine place!

Another publisher hears of the same wonderful fortune-making process. Even our canny Scotch friend, Ivison, concludes that the insurance business is the best, after all. He too must be a director; whether it be that an old company would not have him, or that he would not have the old company, he joins one of the new lights, which has not only all the modern improvements, but many improvements and "features" never heard of before by ancients or moderns! Scarcely two days elapse from the time we find Mr. Ivison gazetted as an insurer, when we receive a "special circular," in which it is announced in large, leaded type, that "the teacher, the student, etc., will *hail with delight this new and valuable* addition to a series already *without an equal*," etc., etc. We have the curiosity to examine "the new and valuable addition," and we find that it consists of two old books welded into one!

As for Barnes, the "National Geography" man, it seems he has been in the insurance business for years. This, indeed, we might have known, for time there was when he too issued good books. We had no idea of the reason of the falling off, until we learned recently that he has been a director for some time—one of the principal advisers of President Charles J. Martin, author of the celebrated letter to the Jews, relative to their alleged house-burning propensities. This accounted to us at once for the issue of such school-books as the History of Liberia, in which negroes are represented as model legislators, model college professors, etc., etc., and accordingly we felt sorry for having blamed Mr. Barnes perhaps a little too harshly for issuing those performances. Now, however, we withdraw all censure; and only wonder that recent books are not still worse than they are. Should the insurance mania only continue for a limited time, like the cholera, or the cattle-disease, we do not doubt that Mr. Barnes would again be the respectable, discriminating publisher, which he certainly was some years ago. But if he must be insurer and publisher together, why not apply to some such company as the Knickerbocker Life, or its rival across the way, the Equitable Life? His intercourse with the managers of either of these institutions would rather improve his taste and discrimination than injure either. They may have an occasional tilt with each other, but neither ever forgets

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* Perhaps the following little extract from Table XIII. in Barnes's last Report may throw some light on the marble business:

	Years.	Losses Resisted.
New-York Life....	1865	$5,000
	1866	18,000
	1867	30,000

what he owes to the public, especially to that part of it which confides in his integrity.

Whether our friend Scribner has yet secured a position as insurance director, we cannot say; but there are several companies to which we would recommend him as one whose word may be relied upon in all cases of doubtful assets. We are not quite decided whether it is he or Peterson, of Philadelphia, we should recommend to Batterson, of the Traveller's Life and Accident; but we are convinced that that enterprising gentleman would find either a valuable auxiliary as a member of the "board," especially when a policy became due which it was inconvenient or "injudicious" to pay.

There is no use in denying the fact that our printers also have lately evinced a strong tendency in the direction of insurance. They, too, want to make fortunes; and who can blame them? although it may be very unpleasant to be delayed with our publications when we are in a hurry. It is true that we know but one professional printer who has yet devoted any part of his time to insurance, further than that required to print insurance documents for such as employ him to do so. But we are bound to admit that there are few shrewder or better directors than this one, and that there is no company of its age more successful or more reliable than that to whose board he belongs. In proof of this, we refer to the Continental Life. The danger is that, on account of his success, there will be a rush of printers to the insurance business, and, worse still, that they will rush into the wrong offices—into such, for instance, as those of the Standard Life, the Excelsior Life, the North-American Life, the Widows' and Orphans Benefit Life, etc., etc. This would be the worst "strike" they made yet—the worst for themselves and their families, as well as for the public, which would be deprived of their instructive and valuable services.

And yet we doubt whether they would fare much better by rushing into some of the large *imposing* concerns, which boast that they have so many millions of assets, etc.; for, as we have shown on former occasions, there are some of these that have one scale of dividends for the poor, and another scale for the rich. The latter are sometimes treated very "liberally," especially if they are persons supposed to have influence among that numerous class who never think. Need we say that this sort of liberality pays? for it is the poor and thoughtless class who build those fine palaces; it is they who pay for the white marble; it is they who pay those enormous salaries and percentages; it is they who get least back; it is they whose widows have to employ lawyers to recover what is due to them, and have to compromise at last for a mere trifle, or lose costs and all!

In this, as in nearly all other cases, there are exceptions, but in nine out of ten it is the best companies that make least display. Thus, for example, there is no more sterling company anywhere than the Knickerbocker Life; it is our sincere opinion that it may be regarded as a model in its mode of dealing with its policy-holders; yet its office, although comfortable and spacious, is one of the plainest in the city. The office of the Security Life is equally modest, and the company is equally excellent. Thus two of our most reliable and really benevolent companies have the least showy and least expensive offices.

In other cities we find the same relationship between modesty and genuine, substantial worth. None, for instance, make less show in this way, than the Phœnix Mutual Life, of Hartford; but where is there a more prosperous company of its age, or a company which, in proportion to the claims upon it, has done more for the widow and the orphan? Its office is no palace; but there is more and better work done in it than in some of those New-York offices, whose pompous owners will be content with nothing less showy than an immense pile of white marble.

Again, nowhere is there a nobler corporation of its kind, or indeed of any kind, than the New-England Mutual Life. Its home office in Boston is, indeed, abundantly spacious, comfortable, and tasteful; but there is nothing flashy about it. Even the little Berkshire Life, of Pittsfield, makes far more display, whereas it is no exaggeration to say that the New-England Mutual combines more excellent qualities than all the other life companies of Massachusetts put together.

These facts we will illustrate presently; but in the mean time we must not forget the exceptions. Thus, it is true that the Equitable Life is building a fine structure, but it is not of white marble, but of granite, a much more durable though less showy stone; and we cheerfully add that it is proportionately more characteristic of the company. The Manhattan Life does business in a white marble edifice, but in a retiring and unobtrusive way. Like a well-bred guest, who does not doubt his rank, the Manhattan takes a back-seat, and allows the *parvenus* to take the front. We would therefore say to our friends the printers, in the words of one for whom, doubtless, they have high respect,* before they make any further rush for insurance, in imitation of our misguided and degenerate booksellers,

> Nimium ne crede *colori*:
> *Alba* ligustra *cadunt*, vaccinia *nigra liguntur*.

Now, what sort of people wear the heaviest guard-chains, the largest rings, the most flashy scarfs and vests? Are they not the professional gamblers, and those who in England are called the "swell-mob"? In every country they are the class who doubt themselves, and who are to be doubted by others; but in no country are they the class who inspire confidence among sensible people, who do not want to throw away their money.

It will be found equally true upon investigation that it is those who promise most that do least. Who is not familiar with the great dividend stories of some of our "confidence" companies, old as well as young? According to these, the parties easily made to part with their money will get back in dividends, or some kindred form, more than they paid in premiums. We are aware that to those unacquainted with the desperate efforts made at the present day to sell "policies," this must seem gross exaggeration or burlesque, yet it is the simple truth. Thus, for example, what does the following paragraph, extracted from a long series of the same sort, mean?

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* Virgil.

"Savings Banks pay interest *only*. This Company will pay *many dollars* for *every one* paid to it on a Life Insurance Policy."

This sort of pretension is by no means peculiar to the "Standard" Life of New-York, from whose advertisement we take it. We could mention forty other companies that are equally absurd and deceptious. Need we say that companies of established reputation—companies that are really liberal as well as honest—do not make any such promises? On the contrary, they tell the public frankly that they must not expect what it is impossible to give. In illustration of this, we quote the following extract from the twenty-fifth Annual Report of the New-England Mutual Life Insurance Company:

"It is not out of place, at this time, to reiterate what has been often alluded to in previous reports concerning the *delusive anticipation* of large returns of surplus, or, as they are frequently miscalled, *profits* or *dividends*. A Mutual Life Insurance Company returns to its members the *over-payments* that have been made. Every member is charged with the risk that he has run, and his proportion of the expense of conducting the business. He is credited with his share of the gain upon mortality and percentage of expense, and the excess of interest, over four per cent, which his funds, deducting the cost of insurance, have realized; and this is all he can equitably claim. Our members will therefore see that *no anticipations* of *enormous dividends*, *large profits*, etc., *can*, by the *very nature of things*, be realized. To urge insurance upon any member of the community, by means of *promises* which can never be fulfilled, is a *gross fraud*, and the directors of this company request that if any agent or solicitor, acting on their behalf, is found *guilty* of such a dereliction of duty, the fact may be brought to their notice that his services may be dispensed with. If companies would combine to frown down this growing evil, less forfeitures would ensue, and the business done through solicitors would become *more reputable*, in some respects, *than it now is*."

Most of the italics are in the original; but every sentence in the passage is characteristic of the company in whose report it occurs; the whole does honor even to the New-England Mutual. We will now give another extract which will show that its integrity is appreciated:

"It will be seen by the annexed financial statement that the assets of the company amount to nearly seven millions of dollars; that *more than one half a million of dollars has been paid in claims upon policies;* that the net receipts for premium and interest have amounted to $2,817,015.74; and that there remains *a surplus to be distributed of* $786,197.86, after reserving $6,192,008,32 as the cost of reinsurance.

"During the year the company has issued 5691 policies, insuring the amount of $16,976,086, and increased its list of members more than four thousand.

"The number of policies subsisting is about 21,000, upon which there is a present liability of $64,258,900.40, against $51,367,184.05, upon 16,526 policies, at the close of the previous year.

"The business of the company during the past year, in the number of policies issued and the amount paid for losses, has been *greater than that of the first thirteen years*."

It is companies which do such work as this, after having again and again cautioned the public against misunderstanding its promises, that inspire confidence in insurance. Fortunately for those capable of reflecting and discriminating, there is enough of such, although we repeat without fear of contradiction that companies of the opposite class bear about the same proportion to them that nineteen does to one. In the other companies having their home offices in Massachusetts there is nothing very remarkable in one way or the other. None of them we believe are particularly bad; but it is more certain that none are particularly good, which affords a new illustra-

tion of the fact that while wise laws judiciously administered may prevent men from committing crime, no laws can render them really virtuous; and except underwriters are virtuous, it is certain that they will never distinguish themselves by the good they do.

Whether it be that the laws are defective in Connecticut, or that the atmosphere of some localities exercises a peculiar influence on the morals of the inhabitants, certain it is that it has underwriters who are great in evil, as well as those that are great in good; and if the former class do not predominate, as they do in New-York and Philadelphia, they are at least much more numerous than the latter. Hartford alone furnishes abundant illustrations of this. In that little city there are all varieties of insurers, from the noblest and most unswerving to the meanest and most slippery. There is nothing animate or inanimate which may not be insured there for a consideration; at least this was the case until very lately; but we believe there are no offices at present for the insurance of horses, cows, donkeys, goats, etc.; it having been found that the owners of those animals have more common sense, but less faith, than the generality of mankind.

The two noisiest companies in Hartford, or perhaps anywhere else, are the Connecticut Mutual, and the Travellers' Life and Accident, and this is by no means the only quality which the twain possess in common. The character of each and the extent to which it deserves public confidence are pretty fully known to our readers; yet there is no reason why we should not call attention to "new features." The features indicated by two documents which have recently fallen into our hands may not be entirely new; but they strike us as somewhat novel if not strange. The documents alluded to are, first, a policy form purporting to be that of the Connecticut Mutual; we say "purporting" because, although it has all external appearances of genuineness, parts of it read so much like burlesque, that we wondered, and indeed we wonder still, that any sensible person would accept such a pledge for his money; and, second, a printed circular letter marked, "For Agents and Solicitors only." For our own part, we cannot but regard the policy form as a slippery document; in order that those of our readers who have not already seen it may be able to judge for themselves whether we are right or wrong we subjoin the following passage:

"Provided always, and it is hereby declared to be the true intent and meaning of this policy, and the same is accepted by the assured upon these expressed conditions; that in case the said person whose life is hereby insured shall pass beyond the settled limits or the protection of the government of the United States, (excepting into the settled limits of the Dominion of Canada,) or shall, between the 15th day of June and the first day of November, visit those parts of the United States situated south of the southern lines of North-Carolina and Tennessee; or shall enter upon a voyage upon the high seas; or shall be personally engaged in blasting, mining, sub-marine operations, or the manufacture or transportation of highly inflammable or explosive substances; or engaged as an engineer or fireman in charge of a steam engine, or as engineer, fireman, or brakeman on a railroad, or as a mariner, officer, or employee in any capacity, on sea service on any sea, sound, inlet, river or lake; or enter into naval or military service whatever, either voluntary or otherwise; (excepting in the militia when not in active service;) without the consent of this company, in each and either of the foregoing cases, previously given in writing; or if he shall die by his own hand, while sane or insane, feloniously or otherwise; or in consequence of a duel, or by the hands of

justice, or the violation of any law of the States of the United States, or of any government where he may be; or if he shall aid or abet any insurrection against the government of this State or of the United States, or perform any labor or service, civil or military, in aid of such insurrection; then and in every such case this policy shall be null and void and of no effect."

We confess that a document containing so many provisos as this, not to mention the provisos in regard to health, age, etc., would not inspire us with much confidence as to the comfort which our widow might derive from that source. But the circular, intended "for agents and solicitors only," is a still more curious document. We should like to present our readers several extracts from this, but can only make room for one. This, it will be seen, is highly suggestive:

"Our experience has demonstrated that residents in this country of foreign birth, and especially those emigrating in middle life, are not *equally good risks as native-born citizens*, and of these that *the Irish are decidedly the poorest*, and *the Germans the next*. It is believed that of the above two classes who now embrace life insurance, the number is so large as to materially disturb the average rate of mortality expected from selected lives, and to materially increase the cost of insurance. We therefore request that agents will not make any special efforts to solicit applications from among those classes, and that they will use *discretion and care in selecting cases from those classes*, to be sent to this office."

The real secret of these objections to foreigners is, that Patrick and Franz —especially the former—not having been used to much money at home, are not easily made to part with it when they earn it hard in this country. If they do part with it, they are apt to have a close eye on those who take it. Although Patrick may not be "larned," he is somewhat prone to be suspicious of those who want his spared dollars in exchange for fine promises, especially if he hears that they have any thing to do with pills or wooden nutmegs; we are sorry to hear that he has sometimes used his *shelala* in cases of this kind. It is plain enough that a person who is so summary as this in his dealings with insurers is not a "good risk," but rather a "disturbing element" in the business. Franz is not so "poor" a risk as Pat, still it is not safe for a solicitor or agent, or even a president, to calculate too much on his forbearance, if he gets it into his head that his money is not in safe hands. Upon the other hand, "native-born citizens" are, in general, exceedingly mild and gentle under the fleecing operation; no other citizens of any country will bear more imposition without having recourse to a cudgel, or any other "disturbing" instrument. If we are wrong in our explanation of the above extract, perhaps some of our insurance readers will set us right.

The Connecticut Mutual may be worthy of all the praise it bestows on itself, as well as of all the disinterested recommendations which it inserts in its advertisements in proof of its honesty; but we confess there are several Hartford companies, whose policy we should greatly prefer to that signed "Guy R. Phelps, President," even though the latter should contain no provisos. Most decidedly we would prefer, for example, the policy signed "E. Fessenden," and countersigned "J. F. Burns." Armed with the document of the latter we should feel sure of the cash, whereas in the other case we could not help having some misgivings. We think we need hardly say that we are not peculiar in this feeling. Those who know the Phœnix

Mutual best speak of it in the highest terms. As a specimen of the opinions entertained of it by the neighbors of its officers—by those who have the best opportunities of judging of its merits, as compared to other companies, we extract the following passage from a recent number of the Hartford *Courant*, feeling satisfied that it does not in the least exaggerate the worth of the Phœnix:

"The Phœnix has been in business a good number of years, and it has worked its way into public favor and to prosperity by good management. Its receipts last year were within a fraction of two millions of dollars, $1,743,173.35 being from premiums on its policies, old and new; and its interest receipts, on solid investments, are now running up to near $200,000 annually. Its assets are over three and a half millions of dollars, and during the last year it issued over eight thousand policies. The claims against it, by deaths, *always promptly settled*, amounted last year to $166,950—that is, the claims that were actually paid in cash. Its income in 1866 was $848,607; in 1868 it was $1,930,833, showing an increase of 128 per cent, a remarkable success. But what is more gratifying still, its assets have increased, as compared with 1866, one hundred and fifty-one per cent.

"This is the test not only of prosperity, but of the soundness of the institution. Indeed, we believe it may be safely said of this company that its increase of assets, compared with the amount insured, has been *greater the past year than that of any other company in this country*."

The statement of the Charter Oak Life, for the past year has not yet been issued, but none doubt that it will exhibit increased prosperity and progress. We mention for the benefit of other companies that its proud motto for several years has been, "Losses paid and not a case litigated." We know our friends of the Connecticut Mutual, New-York Life, and New-Jersey Mutual Benefit will thank us for reminding them that, after all, this sort of non-resistance is something to boast of.

For a New-Jersey company the Mutual Benefit of Newark used to be remarkably well managed; but it seems that the directors have recently taken the more important part of the management into their own hands. This will probably account for the disagreeable number of lawsuits in which the company has been engaged lately. Even the State taxes it has resisted, refusing to pay any more than the directors thought was sufficient. Somehow or other the courts have differed with the directors, and rendered an adverse decision. The latter gentlemen, not liking the notion of paying about $50,000 if they could avoid it, have, it seems, carried the case to the Court of Errors. This little affair reminds us that Mr. Barnes's last Annual Report contains, under the head of "losses resisted" and opposite the name of the New-Jersey company, some pretty large items, as follows:

	Years.	Losses resisted.
Mutual Benefit	1865	$12,500 00
	1866	8,600 00
	1867	22,600 00

All this may be right, but we confess we prefer the record of some other companies; of the Security Life of New-York, for instance. In the same table the Security stands without any "loss resisted" during the same period as follows:

	Years.	Losses resisted.
Security Life	1865	.....
	1866	.....
	1867	.....

Not wishing to seem invidious, even for the public good, we will not extend the parallel, but show that lawsuits and resistance to claims, or either, are by no means necessary to promote the prosperity and success of a life insurance company. If the Security has ever had litigation of any kind, or if its directors have sought to make a cipher of their president or vice-president, for any purpose whatever, the fact has, we believe, never transpired. That both directors and officers have been much more sensibly and profitably engaged, will be sufficiently evident from the progress of the company, as shown by the following table:

Years.	No. of Policies issued each year.	Gross Receipts.	Amount Insured by New Policies.	Total Gross Assets.	Increase over previous year in Gross Assets.
1862	211	$23.423	$489,000	$122,857	$12,857
1863	888	80,530	1,939,550	160,092	37,235
1864	1,403	149,411	2,819,743	249,831	89,739
1865	2,134	323,827	4,841,280	425,027	175,196
1866	3,325	603,651	7,526,509	753,398	328,371
1867	4,094	880,003	9,070,805	1,286,390	532,992
1868	4,386	1,055,242	11,564,389	1,854,570	568,180

Who will deny that a company that can exhibit such results as these could build a marble palace, if it were as fond of display as some of its neighbors? Nay, one of our youngest and most modest companies could do so. The National Life of New-York dates only since 1863; it commenced business without any flourish of trumpets, and with only a small capital. It has engaged in no quarrels; it has eschewed lawsuits of all kinds. We have never heard that it contested a case; yet on the first of January last, its assets amounted to $400,000, nearly half a million, and nearly double the amount of last year. But no company is more judiciously or more ably managed than the New-York National.

Of all our insurance companies there is not one that makes better progress than the Knickerbocker Life; nor is there one that more eminently deserves its prosperity and success. Excepting rivals, who are scarcely to blame for feeling a little jealous or envious, sometimes, this is the testimony of all who know the company. Our local readers need not be informed that no insurance institution in New-York enjoys a more enviable reputation; and we perceive that its worth is held in equal estimation in all our principal cities. As it always affords us sincere pleasure to see superior intelligence combined with integrity and urbanity succeed, we will quote a fragment or two from recent estimates made in different cities. In refuting some attacks made on the company, the Chicago *Chronicle* presents to its readers several of the well-established claims of the Knickerbocker to public consideration. Referring to one of these claims, the editor adduces the following facts and figures:

"The total of all dividends declared to policy-holders, from the organization of the company to January 1st, 1869, is $583,000, in round numbers. The entire premium receipts of the company, during the same time, have been $4,074,521.71. But inasmuch as, prior to January 1st, 1869, dividends were withheld until after three years from the date of the policy, the premium receipts of the years 1865, 1866, and 1867, amounting to $2,033,553.73, must

be deducted from this total $4,074,521.71, in order rightly to ascertain the percentage of dividend. This subtraction leaves $2,040,967.93. From this sum of $2,040,967.98 there must be a further deduction of some $800,000 of premiums, received upon stock and term policies, when we shall have remaining $1,240,967 as the true sum entitled to dividends. The total of dividends declared upon this sum, $583,000, is an average of nearly 50 per cent."

Turning to Philadelphia, we find a tribute still more creditable, if possible. We read in one of the journals before us an account of a banquet, provided by Mr. Paul, a German gentleman, for the purpose of complimenting his brethren of the insurance profession. As usual on such occasions, speeches were delivered, when Mr. Ditmann, another gentleman from the land of Humboldt and Leibnitz, while alluding to the German branch of American insurance, paid the following tribute to the same company:

"From what I have had occasion to observe I am justified in saying that The Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company is a great blessing to our people. From my own experience, I am happy to be able to say that many instances of losses by that company have come under my notice, and that every just and honest claim was promptly paid."

It is not alone the Germans who are creditably represented at the home office of the Knickerbocker; although our friend, Dr. Lassing, has a more thorough knowledge of insurance than any of the other Europeans, English, Irish, or Scotch, selected by Mr. Lyman for their superior intelligence and abilities. In one of the journals from which we take the above extracts, it is announced that Mr. Mattison, late general superintendent of agencies for the New-York Life, "and an energetic, faithful, and efficient worker in the cause," has transferred his services to the Knickerbocker. We cannot say we are surprised at this, since Mr. Appleton has taken so large a part of late in the direction of the former company. Perhaps we should not have referred to it, therefore, had it not reminded us that the Knickerbocker is one of the companies which it used to annoy Messrs. Beers and Banta so much a year or two ago to find commended in the same journal with the New-York Life.

Another of the companies whom those worthy gentlemen would proscribe is the modest and retiring, but always solid and faithful Manhattan Life; but a company can afford a little snobbery at its expense, which has had the following receipts during the past year.

For premiums, extra premiums, etc	$1,874,796 40
For interest	310,327 26
For interest and rents accrued	80,216 63
	$2,265,340 29

This, it will be admitted, is a pretty respectable income. It also appears that the company paid during the same period nearly half a million ($481,835.00) claims by death; and that still its assets amount to over five millions and a quarter, ($5,367,537.59.)

It is generally admitted that those who grow pompous, rude, and overbearing in proportion as they grow rich on the public money, have but very small minds, whatever may be the size or strength of their stomachs; upon the other hand, there are a class who become more and more polite and thoughtful according as they become wealthy. To the latter class belong the managers of the Equitable. Mr. Hyde is very like his rival in this respect. That gentleman and Mr. Lyman have really so many good quali-

ties in common that they should never be at war with each other; they should rather turn their combined arms against those small-headed, greedy, grasping, illiterate creatures, whose instincts are much more like those of sharks or vultures than those of honest philanthropic life insurers. We are glad, accordingly, that the rivals flourish. The Equitable has now an annual premium income of five millions and a half, ($5,500,000,) while its cash assets amount to nearly nine millions, ($9,000,000.)

It is true that the Mutual Life, and the Connecticut Life, *par nobile fratrum*, boast larger assets than any of the really benevolent companies we have mentioned; but that the vicious sometimes prosper awhile, is no reason why the virtuous should feel discouraged. We think it will be pretty generally admitted by those who know these companies best, that, had they only commenced business a year or two ago, it would have been very doubtful whether either could ever succeed; for the masses are vastly more intelligent and less credulous now than they were when the Mutual and the Connecticut first began to proclaim the wonderful virtues of their respective wares. Companies must be honest in order to succeed at the present day; that is, except they be *stock* jobbers that can get their finger into the United States treasury, and then persuade Congress by golden or "greenback" arguments, to grant them peculiar privileges! But even at the present rate of the increase of new companies, intelligence, integrity, and energy need have no fear but they will finally succeed. The example of the Continental Life (of New-York) fully sustains us in this view. This company is not yet quite three years in existence, and it has already accomplished the following results:

Policies issued,	12,600
Assets,	$2,300,000
Dividend declared, Jan. 30, 1869,	40 per cent.

This brief record needs no comment. We would advise companies like The Homœopathic Mutual, The Dick Parker Mutual, The First National Eclectic, The Jack Ketch Assurance and Annuity, The World Mutual, the Davy Crockett Life and Accident, The Excelsior Life, etc., to study these figures, and try to imitate the means by which they have been produced.

The Globe Mutual Life continues to advance steadily, but without making any display. Its annual statement is brief, but it is comprehensive and significant. We extract the following figures:

To net assets, January 1, 1868,		$961,807.04
" Premium account, 1868, - -	$1,041,085.11	
" Interest received and accrued,	78,623.54	1,119,708.65
		$2,081,515.69

During 1868, it paid losses by death to the amount of $143,285.71; yet its assets have very nearly doubled during the same period, amounting now to $1,641,907.55. The president of the Globe Mutual was formerly actuary of the New-York Life; but he was always opposed to spending the money of the policy-holders in mere display.

Batterson need not console himself with the hope that the Provident Life and Accident, of Chicago, will no longer compete with his concerns. Men

actuated by honorable motives always discard any branch of business which they cannot carry on without imposing on public credulity. Accordingly, we believe the conductors of the Provident are about to leave the accident business to Batterson.

The United States Casualty, prompted by the same creditable feeling, has got ashamed of the Batterson *modus operandi*, and has resolved itself into an exclusively life company, under the title of the Anchor Life. As Mr. Fisher, its president, is a judicious, honest underwriter, and has intelligent colleagues possessed of similar characteristics, we have no doubt that the Anchor will prove worthy of its metaphorical name. It has some attractive features, of which we will take occasion to speak in our next, having no doubt that the managers of the company mean what they say.

Among the many companies recently inaugurated, the American Tontine seems to be the only one that inspires even an ordinary amount of confidence among the thinking portion of our people. How well it merits this confidence we are not yet prepared to say from our own knowledge; but appearances are certainly in its favor. Its plan is new in this country; but in Europe it has proved both successful and popular. The points on which it differs with other life companies, we may take occasion to discuss on a future occasion; but at present we can do no more than allude to its favorable prestige.

Sometimes there is a good deal in a name, but there is very little, we fear, in that of "The Great Western Mutual Life," of New-York, which commenced business some months before its prosperous and thriving neighbor, the Continental. It seems that the brokers do not succeed very well, after all, as life insurers; the meanness of their former trade always seems to stick to them. True, all the managers of the Great Western are not brokers. Mr. Bage, the worthy president, numbers among his directors dealers in very nice things—even articles of *vertu*. We own that until we learned that Mr. Charles L. Tiffany, the well known *jewel* dealer, was a member of the board, we were somewhat at a loss to understand how it was that the Great Western people indulged so much in showy rings and breast-pins. Now the thing seems plain enough, and yet those articles have rather a suspicious, *pasty* look about them—inferior paste at that; for there are some of the Paris articles which it is more difficult to distinguish from genuine diamonds than the uninitiated would believe. Be this as it may, we beg leave to suggest an improvement—why not change the name of the Great Western to "The Artificial Diamond Mutual Assurance Company"?

In a short time every ism will have its insurance company; quite a number of isms are already represented. Homœopathy can boast two or three; but we fear it will prove an empty boast to many. The Homœopathic Life Insurance Company of New-York may, we suppose, be regarded as the exponent of its tribe. According to the learned managers of this institution the old system of doctoring killed more than it cured, whereas the new system rarely, if ever, fails to cure, etc. Every body knows by this time what the homœopathic principle, *similia similibus curantur*, means; whatever produces

desire will cure the same if its use is duly persevered in. This of course was a great discovery; but a still greater one has been made lately on the same basis. We are assured that homœopathic policies have still more wonderful virtues if possible than homœopathic pills; supposing the policy-holder should find himself swindled by his homœopathic insurer, he is to think nothing of that, but take more and more policies of the same kind, not sparing even the last dollar, and a cure is certain in the end. Let no one object that the doctor who undertakes to operate in this wonderful way is but young in the business, and may fail to fulfil his promises. The "manual" of the Homœopathic company disposes of all such objections in a very simple manner; we quote a brief passage:

"If an old company regularly divides and pays out or agrees to pay its profits, then it has *nothing left but its capital* and cash enough to meet its liabilities, *great or small*. It is therefore *not so strong as a new company*, which has liabilities comparatively so small that its capital, added to its reserve fund, renders the *absolute security far greater in proportion*." (p. 19.)

Thus the newer a company is the stronger it is; from which it follows, of course, that the older a company is the weaker it is! We readily admit that this is true in some cases. The Homœopathic Mutual is indeed weak enough to-day, but we think it quite likely that it will be still weaker this time twelvemonth, if it does not pass out of existence altogether in the mean time.

"The First National Eclectic Life Assurance Society" is the title of another of the numerous new brood of companies, which are to cast the old into the shade by their "peculiar features" and their benevolent, magnanimous deeds. That no one need apprehend exaggeration in its pretensions, will be sufficiently manifest from the fact that foremost among its directors are the Hon. Demas Barnes, manufacturer of patent medicines, and the Hon. Henry Ivison, manufacturer of "the celebrated American series" that have done so much to render our good people intelligent and enlightened! As the difficulty seems to be now to find appropriate names for the numerous new companies that are in process of organization, we beg leave to suggest a few which we think would be found sufficiently appropriate. One of our enterprising publishers has issued a large series of works from time to time, such as "The Life of Jack Ketch," "The Life of Dick Parker the Pirate," "The Life of Galloping Dick," etc.* It would be easy to transpose these titles so that they might read somewhat as follows: The Jack Ketch Life Insurance Company; The Dick Parker Pirate Life and Accident Insurance Company; The Galloping Mutual Benefit Life and Annuity, etc.

Just as we close our last pages we receive from the Insurance superintendent at Albany "Abstracts compiled from the annual statements of the joint-stock fire insurance companies of the state of New-York, showing their condition on the 31st day of December, 1868." We are sorry that this publication did not arrive a few days earlier, for it contains not a little that would be highly interesting to our readers. As it is, we must lay it aside for the present; but we will review it carefully and searchingly in our

* Vide Peterson's Catalogue of "Lives of Highwaymen." Philadelphia, Pa.

next, and show that there are a large number of persons who are far too careless in regard to the resources and character of the companies in which they insure against loss and damage by fire.

The statement made by the popular and progressive Security Fire, of New-York, shows that 1868 was a prosperous year with that institution. Against gross assets of $1,477,000 at the close of 1867, the company now shows over $1,700,000. Better than this is the fact, which we have had authenticated to us, that the business of the first two months of the present year paid the Security a profit of more than $100,000. It has been our pleasure always to speak well of this company, both under the *régime* of that princely man, the late Joseph Walker, and under the present intelligent and energetic management.

Thanks to the judicious management of Mr. Reese, the Hope Fire, of New-York, has done excellent business during the past year. Its aggregate amount of available assets is now $225,779.62; its aggregate cash income during the year has been $125,769.64. These figures of the Hope inspire more confidence than ten times their apparent value in the statistics of other companies—of the Home, for instance.

The assets of the Washington Fire are steadily increasing; at the first of January of the present year they amounted to $764,629.85; the aggregate income for the year reached the handsome sum of $319,461.60. During the same period nearly $110,000 were paid for losses, about one twelfth of which belonged to preceding years. If the curious will compare these various items with the corresponding items of some of our loudly-boasting companies, the Continental Fire, for instance, they will be able to determine for themselves which is the safer company after all.

Our review of marine companies we must also postpone until June. We cannot close, however, without congratulating the policy-holders of the Mercantile Mutual on the continued prosperity of that faithful and honorable institution. No spurious "scrip" has ever emanated from this company. If General Grant has not heard of the scrip operations, perhaps Mr. Boutwell will take the customs of New-York, at least during the first year, in scrip, like that of the Sun Mutual!

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